Wyoming HISTORY JOURNAL

Summer 1995 Vol. 67, No. 1

Report from the WSHS Executive Secretary

Welcome to the Wyoming State Historical Society's official journal of Wyoming history, **Wyoming History Journal. Wyoming History Journal** is being published by long-time members of the Wyoming State Historical Society and is provided to you, as its predecessor *Annals of Wyoming* has been since the founding of the WSHS, as a benefit of membership. You may notice that this issue is somewhat different from the publication you have been receiving and that difference warrants some explanation.

Six months ago Celeste Colgan, new director of the Wyoming Department of Commerce, told the WSHS's executive committee that the relationship between the society and the DoC was under scrutiny. Ms. Colgan suggested that this might mean ending state support for the WSHS's coordinator and for *Annals of Wyoming* as a benefit of society membership. In June, Ms. Colgan confirmed the withdrawal of state support indicating that an informal opinion issued by an assistant attorney general had called the relationship "unconstitutional."

Ms. Colgan's decision not to provide the *Annals of Wyoming* to the WSHS members does not mean the DoC will not publish a journal. Since her original announcement, DoC staffers, and others, have been trying to determine whether they will publish a journal, what it will cost, and what it will look like. Ms. Colgan has stated that the old Annals was focused too narrowly on history and a new journal would have to appeal to a wider audience. The new journal would also have to be self-supporting, relying on subscriptions and donations to succeed. At times the proposed journal has been described as promoting the DoC or as being modeled after the *Montana Magazine of History*. She told the Wyoming Legislature's Joint Travel, Recreation, Wildlife and Cultural Resources Committee on August 2 that there would be a DoC journal but that what it would look like had not yet been decided. It might also cost as much as $25 for an annual subscription. It may also come out in direct competition with the journal you are now reading.

In the meantime, the Wyoming State Historical Society decided to celebrate its rebirth as a private historical organization by going forward and continuing to meet its obligations to its membership. The *Casper Star Tribune* reported that following Ms. Colgan's decision to cut off support to the society and end the distribution of *Annals* as a benefit of membership the executive committee appeared "resigned" to the decision. Though the society's first president, Frank Bowron, had written a spirited rebuttal to the informal assistant attorney general's opinion; though no governor since the society's founding in 1953 e questioned the relationship; though no Appropriatio Committee member in my memory has questioned t funding; the executive committee decided not to cont the decision and to begin to reorganize.

In order to make certain that the general business of t WSHS would be carried out without inconvenience to t membership, the executive committee contracted witl private service (which then hired Judy West our form coordinator) to maintain the correspondence and membe ship records and to compile the information need for t awards luncheon at the annual meeting. We will contin this arrangement through September.

The executive committee also felt it had an obligati to provide a journal of Wyoming history to its membe ship. Rick Ewig and Dr. Phil Roberts, both long tir members of the WSHS and former editors of *Annals Wyoming*, volunteered to produce a quality history journ for the members. While this journal may not look as sli as what you have become accustomed to - that w designed and visually interesting publication was pr duced with equipment the WSHS helped the DoC to b and which has not been returned - it will be a solid researched and interesting collection of Wyoming histor Its Board of Editors includes most of Wyoming's best a best known historians. The name was changed by moti of the society's executive committee on Aug. 12 in order better describe the journal's contents and mission.

This is truly your journal and we want to hear fro you. What kinds of articles do you want? How often shou we publish? How important are book reviews? Film r views? Museum exhibit reviews? Photographs? Layou Price?

Just as **Wyoming History Journal** is yours, the WSH is yours. It is extremely important that you talk to yo elected leaders. They need to have your ideas as to how proceed into the future. Come to the WSHS meetings Casper September 8, 9,10. Attend your chapter meetin and talk about your state society. And please support yo WSHS. These volunteers, long-time dedicated WSH members, need your help.

Dr. David Kathl

-Editors
Rick Ewig
Phil Roberts

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HISTORY JOURNAL

The Journal of the Wyoming State Historical Society
Summer 1995 Vol. 67, No. 1

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Cover Art

"The Rendezvous near Green River-Oregon" (1837)

Alfred Jacob Miller joined the 1837 American Fur Trading expedition to the rendezvous held near Horse Creek, a Green River tributary in what is today southwestern Wyoming. Miller was the first artist to travel the Oregon Trail and the only artist to record events associated with the fur trade. Miller's paintings portray a romantic West. The painting is in the American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, and used here by permission.

The design of the title, above and on the cover, was done by Janet Van Nuys. Jan, a Laramie graphic artist, is owner of Typeworks Creative Services.

Wyoming History Journal is published by the Wyoming State Historical Society in cooperation with the American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, and the Department of History, University of Wyoming. The journal was formerly known as the *Quarterly Bulletin* (1923-25), *Annals of Wyoming* (1925-1993) and *Wyoming Annals* (1993-1995). The journal has been the official publication of the Wyoming State Historical Society since 1953. The Co-Editors of *Wyoming History Journal* welcome manuscripts on every aspect of Wyoming and Western history. Authors should submit manuscripts on diskettes utilizing Word Perfect, Microsoft Word or ASCII text, and two copies double-spaced hard copy to: *Wyoming History Journal*, P. O. Box 4256, University Station, Laramie, WY 82071. Manuscripts should conform to *A Manual of Style* (University of Chicago Press). Authors are responsible for the interpretation in their articles. Manuscripts are refereed by members of the Board of Editors and others. The co-editors make decisions regarding publication.

Wyoming History Journal is received by members of the Wyoming State Historical Society. Current membership is 2,350. Membership dues are: single $9, joint $12, institutional $20. To join, write the editors. Copies of *Wyoming History Journal* may be purchased from the editors. Journal articles are abstracted in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life*.

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THE WYOMING SHEEPWAGON

J. E. Stimson Photograph, Cultural Resources Division, Dept. of Commerce, State of Wyoming

hind the corral in sort of a heap
a home like I used when I once herded sheep.

e roof is all gone, the side in decay
e floor and the wheels just rotting away.

e old double trees the horses hitched to
ve long gone the way that good antiques do.

e tongue is a wreck, been all shortened up
pears to have been stubbed for a modern pick-up.

e sheepherders stove in the corner by the door
rusting away with all its lore
baked the best biscuits, cooked the tastiest stew
d it brewed better coffee than mother could do.

e hasp on the door is fastened with a stick
yone could enter without any trick.
ey could stir up a meal to their own desire
t clean up the mess and leave wood for a fire.

e overhead bows are good to this day
t the canvas roof has wasted away.

e lantern for light is still hanging there
th a candle nearby to use as a spare.

e last herder camp I saw on the range
s shining and glistened, it looked goofy and strange.
th gas and a refrig who could dream of the like
d beside it was parked a Suzuki bike.

uthor of poem unknown. Recited by Bill Norton, Buffalo, Oct. 15, 1993.
ton restores sheepwagons and writes cowboy poetry.

It's hard to imagine Wyoming without the sheepwagon, which played such an important role in the state's once large sheep industry. One hundred and ten years after its introduction the sheepwagon can still be seen in parts of the state, a lonely silhouette on a desolate landscape.

Large bands of sheep once fed on the grass and sagebrush Wyoming; in the yearly grazing cycle, sheep often moved hundreds miles, from the winter range of lower elevations to the mountain summer range. This type of sheep management, known as transhumance, was introduced by Spaniards to the New World in the 16th century. The practice of transhumance moved into this country with the development of the sheep industry in New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, and California. Unlike cattle, sheep required the presence of humans to watch over and protect them from predators and sudden storms. The sheepherder served this function and played a vital role in the history of the western sheep industry.[2]

In grazing areas of the southwest, the herder and his dog followed the sheep. One or two pack animals carried supplies, and the herder often slept on the ground beneath the stars. Due to the severe weather of the high plains and mountains of the northern states, the herder needed protection on the open range from the snow and winds of winter and the mountain storms of summer.

The Wyoming sheep industry developed during the 1870's in the southern part of the state along the Union Pacific Railroad, a convenient access to distant markets.[3] By 1880, more than one-half million sheep grazed in the state. The industry boomed by 1900 as more men entered the business and total stock sheep numbered 3,675,000.[4]

By that time, sheepwagons had become an integral tool of the industry and were being built all over the state.[5] Sheepwagons replaced the tent and dugouts on the winter range, although the "herders tipi" (a small tent) continued

[2] Edward Norris Wentworth, *America's Sheep Trails* (Ames: Iowa State College Press, 1948), 11-12, 193.

[3] Wentworth, 312.

[4] Wyoming Agricultural Statistics: 1994. (Cheyenne: Wyoming Department of Agriculture; Wyoming Agricultural Statistics Service; University of Wyoming, College of Agriculture, 1994), 17.

[5] Ads for sheepwagon builders began appearing in the Wyoming State Business Directories around this time.

[6] Interview of Bill Taliaferro, Rock Springs, Feb. 2,1994; Interview of Vern Vivion, Rawlins, Nov. 8, 1994.

to be used in the highest elevations of the mountain summer range.[6]

Designed for a specific purpose, the sheepwagon was the ideal home for the herder. About 11-1/2 feet long and 6-1/2 feet wide, it was enclosed by a canvas top, with a stove for heat and cooking. A most important feature was that it could be moved easily. The wagon contained lots of storage areas, both inside and out. A large box built on the back of some wagons held grain. Other wagons had a moveable wooden grate in this same spot which carried equipment. Wagons often had smaller exterior mess boxes built on the sides of the wagon box, between the front and back wheels. Some of these could be accessed from both inside and outside the wagon.

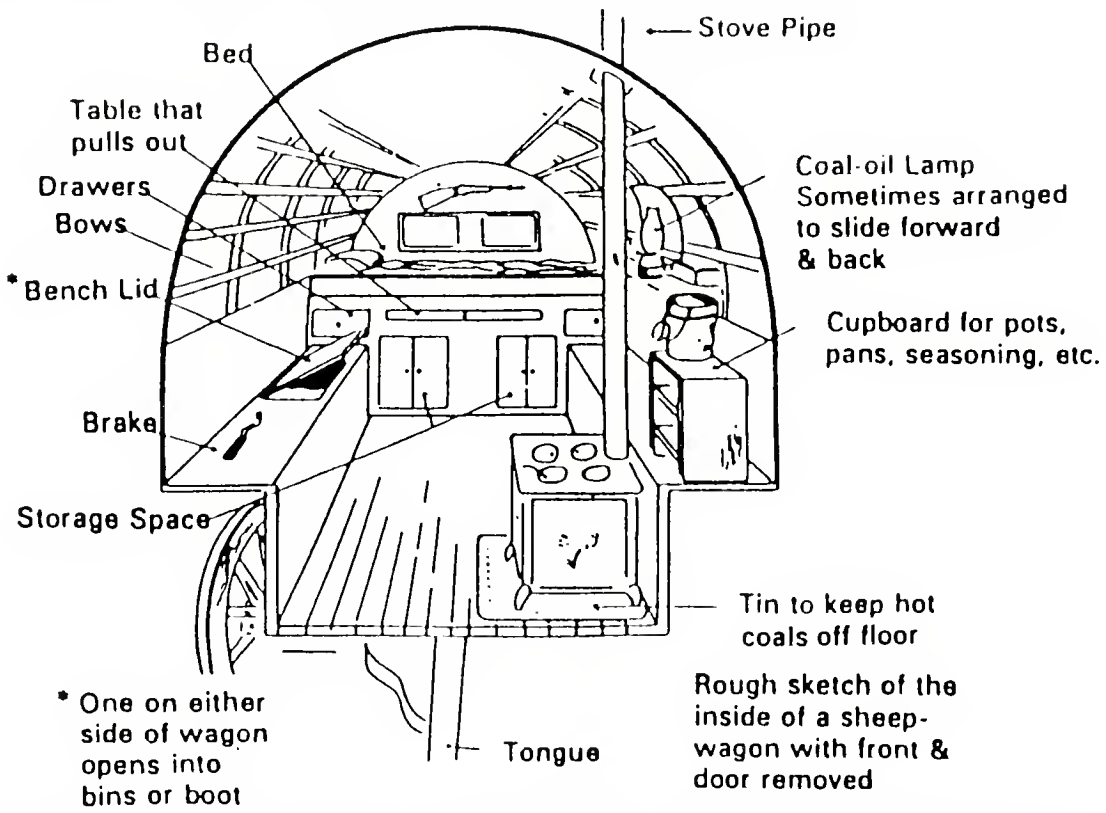
Although sheepwagons were used early on in the Big Horn Mountains, some herders in Carbon and Sweetwater Counties continued to use pack animals and the "herders tipi" in the highest elevations of the summer range because it was impossible to trail a sheepwagon there.

Teams of horses pulled the compact, efficient wagon over the vast grazing areas of Wyoming. The herder, with his sheep and dogs for company, and the wagon for a home, might stay in a remote grazing area for one or two weeks, depending on the amount of forage. The camptender, who delivered supplies and moved the sheepwagon to a n location, might be the herder's only contact with civili tion for months at a time.

The basic sheepwagon consisted of a rectangu wagon box, with 18-inch wide horizontal wood extensic on each side that increased the interior space of the wag by three additional feet and gave the wagon its unusu shape. The bows, as few as four or as many as eig crossed by stays, comprised the roof structure. A canv cover, applied loosely over the roof, provided protecti from the weather. It eventually shrank as it got wet. At le one builder poured melted paraffin over the canvas t which helped waterproof it.[7] A layer of one or two blank installed under the canvas provided insulation for t wagon. Women often had a hand in this aspect of t construction. Mrs. Vashti Huff remembered the difficu of stitching long blankets together on her home sewi machine to make the insulation layer for the sheepwago her husband built.[8]

[7] Interview of Vashti Henderson Huff, Buffalo, Oct 17, 1993. Ninety-one-year-old Mrs. Huff is the daughter of James Henderson, and the wife of the late Elmer Huff. Both men built sheepwagons in Johnson County. She recalled watching the paraffin waterproofing process.

[8] Interview of V. Huff, 1993.



Everything had its place in a sheepherder's wagon. Illustration from Jack Gage, Ten Sleep and No Rest.

Zella Pelloux Slayton, daughter of Buffalo sheep ıcher Martin Pelloux, recalled that she and her mother vays repaired the canvas and blankets on their wagon ɔs. Unlike the Huff insulation, which layered the entire ɔf, only the area above the bed was insulated in the lloux wagons.[9]

The exterior canvas had to be replaced frequently due general wear or destructive hail storms. Casper's Kistler nt & Awning Company, established in 1918, provided ıvas for many of the early wagons in the central and rtheast areas of the state. Even today, Kistler makes ıvas sheepwagon covers.

The sheepwagon is a marvel of practicality and mpactness. The interior configuration proved so effi-nt that 110 years after its "invention," the same basic ın is used in the few sheepwagons made today. Whether design or accident, the sheepwagon interior also served the model for many modern campers. One can begin to preciate the durability of the sheepwagon's interior sign when it is contrasted with the changes in residential ɔor plans that have occurred over the past one hundred ars, a gradual evolution from small enclosed rooms to ge open living areas. The sheepwagon retained its iginal interior configuration because the space worked efficiently.

The door was at the front of the wagon. Most doors ere six feet high, a few inches shorter than the interior ight of the wagon. As one stepped into the wagon from e tongue, a stove sat to the immediate right with the ɔvepipe extending to the outside through a hole in the nvas top. Some type of built-in cupboard or shelf ually occupied the space behind the stove. Easy-to-ean oil cloth often covered a portion of the wall and iling near the stove. Each long side of the wagon had a nch for sitting that doubled as storage space. A hinged l provided access to the storage space within the bench, ıich held flour, meat, or other food supplies. Some ıgons had a built-in flour box placed on the end of the nch across from the stove, just left of the front door. The ıter jug usually rested in this corner, on the bench.

Located opposite the front door, the bed was built on raised, enclosed platform, perpendicular to the side nches. An operable window was always built in the back ıll of the wagon, above the bed. A table, actually a long ıb of wood, slid out from a slot under the bed and was ten supported by a gate leg or a chain that hung from the iling and attached to the front end of the table. With the ɔle extended for eating, the side benches provided com-rtable seating for the diners. The table also came in handy as an extra bed; it could be pulled all the way out from its cavity, with each end resting on a side bench to create a sleeping surface.

The enclosed space under the bed platform and table slot contained additional storage space that could be accessed either by doors, drawers, or a combination of both, depending on the wish of the buyer or the whim of the builder. Sometimes, the builder left the space under the bed open so a herder could store bulkier supplies such as a saddle, lamp, kerosene, and boots.

Although the first wagons had only a canvas flap for a door, a double door, or stable door as the English called it, quickly replaced the flap and became one of the sheepwagon's most prominent features. The top door could remain open while the bottom stayed shut. This functional feature served a number of different purposes. With the top open, the herder could hear and see his sheep. The open top door also provided ventilation for the wagon and controlled the heat of the stove which could be quite intense.

According to ranchers, the primary function of the double door was that a herder or camptender could remain standing within the wagon, sometimes even sitting on the side bench, and extend his arms through the open top door to hold the reins of the horses while the wagon was being moved. From within the wagon, the driver could also operate the wagon brake, located to the right as he faced out. The bottom door, the smaller of the two, remained shut during a move so the driver would not fall out of the wagon.[10]

People wonder who invented the sheepwagon and speculate that the first ones were modeled on the Conestoga wagon. Actually, the Conestoga wagon reached its peak of activity in the years between 1820 and 1840 and probably never made it west of the Ohio Valley. It is often confused with the "prairie schooner," the wagon that transported many pioneers across the continent.[11]

[9] Interview of Zella Pelloux Slayton, Buffalo, Oct. 17, 1993.

[10] Interview of Don Meike, Nov. 14, 1993. Carbon County sheep rancher Vern Vivion concurred on the primary function of the door.

[11] George Shumway, Edward Durell, Howard C. Frey, *Conestoga Wagon 1750-1850: Freight Carrier for 100 Years of America's Westward Expansion* (York, Pa.: Early American Industries Association, Inc. and George Shumway, 1964), 1-2.

[12] Agnes Wright Spring, "Sheep Wagon Home on Wheels originated in Wyoming," *Wyoming Stockman-Farmer* 46, (December 1940): 1,3; Clel Georgetta, *Golden Fleece in Nevada* (Reno: Venture Publishing, 1972), 79-80; *The Ranchers* (Alexandria, Va: Time-Life Books, 1977), 96.

James Candlish, a Rawlins, Wyoming, blacksmith, is most often credited with the "invention" of the sheepwagon in 1884.[12] But evolution of the wagon is perhaps a more apt term than outright invention. In earlier studies on sheepwagons, both Idaho folklorist Tom Carter as well as his Nevada colleague, Blanton Owen, recognized Candlish as one who, among others, refined the sheepwagon into the form we know today.[13] For reasons lost in time, the credit went to Candlish early on, although a search of official records revealed no patent for the sheepwagon, in Candlish's name or any other.

The Wyoming Wool Growers Association wished to credit Candlish as the inventor; in 1909 they commissioned a commemorative fob made of three small discs linked by a chain. The top disc noted the "5th Annual Convention Wyoming Wool Growers Assn. January 11-12, 1909." The middle disc bore a likeness of "The Inventor James Candlish." The bottom disc featured a sheepwagon and proclaimed "The Modern Sheep Palace Was Made in Rawlins, Wyoming 1884." Each member of the Wool Growers Association received this souvenir fob at the annual banquet that year in Rawlins. One of these 1909 fobs is on display at the Laramie Plains Museum *(see photo, left).*

Photo by Richard Collier

Noted Wyoming author Agnes Wright Spring conducted research into the invention of the sheepwagon for one of the first articles ever written about them.[14] Spring's article became a major source for many of the articles that followed on sheepwagons over the next thirty years.[15] In response to her inquiries, she received a letter from one of James Candlish's daughters, Mrs. Fred W. Dodge, of Ontario, Oregon, who supplied details of Candlish's life. Born in Montreal, Quebec, Canada, her father learned the wagon making and blacksmith trades there. He made his way to the United States where worked as a blacksmith for the Union Pacific at Oma Nebraska.

Candlish followed the building of the tracks west Rawlins, then worked for the government at Fort Stee He had moved to Rawlins by 1881 where he establishe blacksmith shop at the corner of 5th and Buffalo Stree near the site of the present-day Carbon County Cou house. Mrs. Dodge credited her father with the design a building of the first sheepwagon which she referred to "the house on wheels."[16]

Candlish did not remain in Rawlins for long. Nev paper accounts show that he sold his "Blacksmith Sh tools and stock for $1000.00" in 1885.[17] It is believed t the Candlish family moved to the Lander area from Rawli and little is known of James Candlish after 1885.[18]

A letter from Mrs. Frank Ferris to the State Historic Board disputed the claim of the Candlish invention. M Ferris stated that she married Frank Ferris, son of one Rawlins' most prominent sheep-ranchers, George Ferr who ranched in the area during the late 19th and early 20 centuries. Mrs. Ferris noted that "credit was given, and accepted it, to Ed Cowdlish (sic) for inventing and maki the first sheep wagon. The truth is this."

Mrs. Ferris explained that George Ferris came Rawlins before the Union Pacific arrived and became t second person to start raising sheep there. She claimed th George Ferris designed and built the first sheep wag

[13] Tom Carter, "Home on the Range: Utah Sheep Camps," unpublished paper presented at the Utah State History Society meeting, Sept. 8, 1979.

[14] Spring, *Wyoming Stockman-Farmer*, 1, 3.

[15] Sheepwagon articles are cyclical and appear about every 10 ye or so, in newspapers and periodicals. Although she is rarely cited Agnes Wright Spring's 1940 article is obviously the source for m of these. Like the game "Whispering Down the Lane," over time some of the information in Spring's original article became distorted. Examples of a few of the articles are: Wanda Daley, "Evo tion of Sheep Wagon Came Through Necessity, Comfort and Inventive Minds," *Northern Wyoming Daily News*, August 23, 19 Maurice Kildare, "Sheepherder's Home," *Relics* 1(Spring, 1968): 16; Neal Blair, "The Sheepherder's Castle," *Wyoming Wildlife* 40 (April 1976): 29-31; Claire Casey, "The Sheep Wagon," *Wester Horseman* 57, (June 1992): 64-69.

[16] Letter, Dodge to Spring, Oct. 12, 1940. Vertical File, Historical Research Section, Wyoming State Museum, Cheyenne.

[17] Record Bill Sale Book A, p. 445, County Clerk's Office, Carbon County Courthouse, Rawlins.

[18] Interview of Rans Baker, Rawlins, Feb. 16, 1994. Baker is a historian who has researched James Candlish and sheepwagons.

which was "some larger than the present day wagon and a anvass curtain was used instead of a door." She added that a 1890, Ferris hired Ed Coudlish (sic) to build a sheep vagon "to his specifications" of which she had a picture. he added that her husband, Frank Ferris, was "nearing 80" nd requested that "this little bit of history should be orrected while he is living."[19]

A Douglas blacksmith, Frank George, is sometimes ited as the inventor of the wagon. George's biography ounds similar to that of Candlish. Born in Wisconsin in 856, George trained as a wagonmaker. He arrived in Vyoming in 1877 and spent three years at Fort Fetterman, epairing wagons with Charles Hogson, a Swedish vagonmaker, and Fred Ericson, a Norwegian blacksmith. Jeorge worked on wagons from Fort Reno and Fort aramie, and also did some freighting in the area.

Frank George moved to Douglas in 1887, shortly ter the Fremont, Elkhorn & Missouri Valley Railroad eached that town, opened a wagon and blacksmith shop, nd later worked for the Florence Hardware and Lumber ompany. He is credited with building, according to arious sources, either "the first sheep wagon ever built in ouglas,"[20] or "the first sheep wagons ever built,"[21] some- me in the late 1880s or early 1890s. The George wagon ecame known as the Florence wagon, named for the wife Mr. Knittle, the owner of the hardware company.

George remained in Douglas until 1902, when he oved to Sheridan and operated a wagon shop for six ears. He then homesteaded near Rozet and established a agon and blacksmith shop in Gillette in 1923.[22]

A number of sheepwagons made by Frank George rvive today. One is displayed at Gillette's Rockpile luseum. George may have built the Florence Hardware eepwagon at Buffalo's Jim Gatchell Museum.

The idea of a covered wagon for a shepherd was not new one. An antecedent of the sheepwagon was a small ctangular shepherd's hut used in the British Isles during e nineteenth century. In the English novel, *Far From the Madding Crowd,* published in 1874, author Thomas Hardy escribed the shepherd's hut:

> The hut stood on little wheels, which raised its floor about a foot from the ground. Such shepherds' huts are dragged into the fields when the lambing season comes on, to shelter the shepherd in his enforced night attendance. The hut had a door, a small stove, and the bed which consisted of a rather hard couch, formed of a few corn sacks...covered half the floor of this little habitation. In the corner stood the sheep-crook, and along a shelf at one side were ranged bottles and canisters.. On a triangular shelf across the corner stood bread, bacon, cheese. ..The house was ventilated by two round holes, like the lights of a ship's cabin, with wood slides.[23]

The sheepwagon as we know it today is clearly related to Hardy's shepherd's hut: a door, small stove, ventilation holes, the idea of shelter for the shepherd. But the shepherd's hut was a smaller, heavier wagon, not designed to travel the hundreds of yearly miles over rough terrain demanded of the western sheepwagon.

Another relation to British Isles antecedents can be found in the writings of Robert Taylor, one of the most successful sheep ranchers of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Taylor immigrated from Scotland to Pennsylvania in 1867. After spending the 1870s in California, Taylor trailed a herd of sheep to Wyoming in 1880. By 1883, he had set up ranch headquarters at Antelope Springs, near Rawlins.

Taylor spent Christmas of 1886 in a sheepwagon thirty miles west of Rawlins. In a letter to his brother in Scotland, dated December 26, 1886, Taylor wrote "I am writing this in one of my sheep wagons. These are filled like a cheap traveling van in the old country with stove, bunk, etc. We move around all winter."[24]

Another antecedent to our western sheepwagon is the "gypsy wagon." An 1880 monthly journal, *The Coach Painter,* described a gypsy wagon "recently built in Pittsburgh" as "elegantly carved and painted, with three windows on each side which can be lowered, and three at the back. The wagon is divided into two parts, the rear being the bed-room, and the whole interior is lined with drugget [coarse woolen stuff used for floor covering]."[25] Vashti

[19] Ferris to Mr. Fred W. Marble, May 16, 1955, Vertical File, Wyoming State Museum, Historical Research, Cheyenne.

[20] "A Venerable Pioneer of Early Wyoming Days," WPA File 348, Historical Research Section, Wyoming State Museum, Cheyenne. The 1936 article was a collaboration between Georgia B. Kelley and 80-year-old Frank George.

[21] *Gillette News-Record,* July 27, 1967, 9. This article, written by a family friend of Frank George, is a good example of how "facts" are altered over time. The 1936 article (footnote #20), claimed George "built the first sheep wagon ever built there."

[22] WPA File #348.

[23] Thomas Hardy, *Far From The Madding Crowd* (New York:.The New American Library, Inc.,1960), 19-21. John Vince, *Old Farms: An Illustrated Guide* (New York: Schocken Books, 1983), 150, has a rendering of a shepherd's hut.

[24] Robert Perry, *Sheep King: The Story of Robert Taylor* (Grand Island: Prairie Pioneer Press, 1986), 19, 27. Taylor's wagon was crowded: "Bill Hogg, my foreman, the herder, and myself live in it."

[25] *The Coach Painter 1880.* (New York: Museum at Stony Brook, reprinted from the Carriage Reference Library, 1983), 10.

Henderson Huff, daughter of James Henderson who built sheepwagons in Buffalo during the 1920s, recalled that many people lived in gypsy wagons in her native state of Alabama, where the Henderson family resided in the early 1900s.[26]

Yet another example will illustrate that the idea of a small covered wagon, with windows and a stove predates the "invention" of the wagon by James Candlish. In her book *My Army Life On The Plains*, Mrs. Frances Carrington described a trip made from Fort Phil Kearny, Wyoming, to Omaha, Nebraska in January 1867, one month after the Fetterman Massacre. The women and children from the fort made this perilous journey, through hostile Indian territory during a raging blizzard, in a wagon she described in some detail and called "my traveling house."

General George B. Dandy fitted up the army wagons in which they were to travel

> in a manner that proved our very salvation on such a journey. . . It was a novel caravan indeed. The wagon covers of cloth were first doubled, and both sides and ends of the wagon bodies were boarded up, with a window in each end. A door at the back of each wagon swung on hinges to admit of easy ingress and egress, and near the door was a small sheet iron stove made from stove-pipe, with a carefully adjusted smoke escape through the wagon-cover above. . . "The best modern kitchen-range could not secure as far reaching results as our little sheet-iron stoves.[27]

Rans Baker, a contemporary Rawlins historian, has a theory about the "invention" of the sheepwagon in Wyoming that links together men like blacksmiths James Candlish and Frank George, Rawlins sheepranchers George Ferris and William Daley, and the military wagons. According to Baker, the Army ambulance, the enclosed wagon that served Mrs. Carrington and the entourage from Fort Phil Kearny, was commonly used for all types of conveyance on the western military frontier during the period following the Civil War. Both Candlish and George, as military blacksmiths in Wyoming, would have been familiar with the army ambulance as well as the many varieties of wagons used at that time.[28]

Since Candlish worked for the Union Pacific Railroad at Omaha in 1867, he could possibly have been an observer on that day the entourage arrived from Fort Phil Kearny, which was undoubtedly an occasion as word of the Fetterman Massacre spread across the United States. If Candlish were there, surely he would have been among the curious who watched the entourage arrive and perhaps noted their mode of conveyance. Candlish could have remembered this "traveling home" and borrowed some of its features for his "home on wheels" sixteen years later.

Similarly, blacksmith Frank George was employed at Fort Fetterman during the late 1870s and early 1880s. As the army ambulance was a common vehicle on the military frontier, George also could have adapted some of the details to a new type of agricultural wagon.

One must also remember the importance of freighting in a state such as Wyoming during the late nineteenth century. Goods were shipped to the west by railroad, but then had to be hauled hundreds of miles into the burgeoning settlements of the interior. A blacksmith of the time would have seen and worked on numerous types of wagons, including military and freight wagons, stage coaches as well as the more refined wagons used by townsfolk.

A number of people have noted the striking similarity between the interior of a sheepwagon and a sailing vessel, which also served as a compact housing unit. Rans Baker tells of two old sheepherders in the Rawlins area, both former sailors, who finally felt at home herding sheep on the Red Desert, which they described "like being on a dry sea." The similarities of a boat's cabin to the interior of a sheepwagon are remarkable. Both have well-designed storage places. Many pleasure boats have benches on either side of the main cabin that open to contain still more storage. Compact beds are tucked away under the bow. Tables fold down when not in use. Everything has its place in a boat as in a sheepwagon.

Prominent Rawlins sheeprancher, William Daley, who trained as a ship's carpenter, provides another connection between the military, the sea, and the sheepwagon. Daley worked at Fort Phil Kearny during its brief existence and built the flagpole there that is so like a ship's mast. No doubt, he saw the rigged-up Army ambulance that carried the women and children safely to Omaha and may have had a hand in the conversion of it. Daley settled in Rawlins during the 1870s and could have had some influence on the early interior design of the wagon.[29]

By the end of the 19th century, sheepwagons were part and parcel of the sheep industry. According to various

[26] Interview of V. Huff, 1993.
[27] Frances C. Carrington, *My Army Life and the Fort Phil Kearny Massacre* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1910), 181-82, 185.
[28] Richard Dunlop, *Wheels West, 1590-1900* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1977), 96-100.
[29] The flag pole incident was recounted in Carrington, *My Army Life*, pp.109-16; William W. Daley Collection, #1400, Box #1, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

urces, blacksmith Marshall Buxton, employed by the hulte Hardware Company of Casper, improved upon the rly sheepwagon design of James Candlish around this ne. Buxton is credited with standardizing the wagon and acing it on a heavier running gear, manufactured by the ain Wagon Company of Kenosha, Wisconsin. He per- ps added the double door, the benches, the rear window ove the bed, and additional storage.[30]

If a rancher wanted a sheepwagon, he had a number alternatives. He could build one himself as some ranch- s did in the early days and continued to do well into the 40s. Bill Taliaferro, a Sweetwater County sheep rancher, called that his uncle, Thomas Seddon Taliaferro, III, ade a number of the family's fifteen sheepwagons during e 1930s. Tri-State Lumber Company of Rock Springs ade at least one Taliaferro wagon from a design supplied this same uncle.[31]

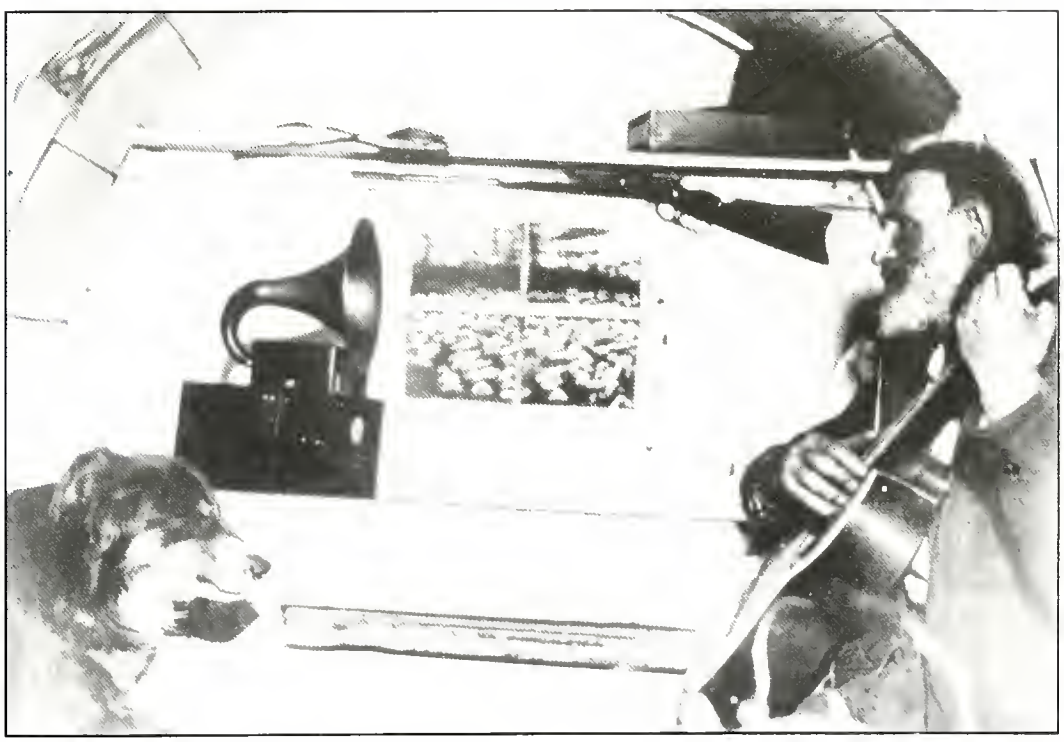
A rancher could also order a sheepwagon from a agon company catalogue, such as the one issued by udebaker Brothers Company of South Bend, Indiana, a mous manufacturer of all types of wagons. By 1902, the mpany produced a sheepwagon, called the sheep camp d," a model that remained virtually unchanged ten years er in the 1912 catalogue. The Studebaker sheepwagon easured 11 feet long and 6 feet 3 inches wide. It had five ws, a three and one-half foot wide bed, a rear window, a table that pulled out from under the bed, and a mess box to the left of the bed.

Studebaker's version of the sheepwagon included an unusual feature, a "brake lever is made to work from inside of the bed." The cost for this feature was an additional $8. The wagon sold for $110, or $95 without the canvas cover, the price including the bed, bows and ridge poles. The running gear ran an additional $122. In 1902, a buyer paid extra for "bunk boards, table, canvas cover." By 1912, the base price included a "double cover, additional mess boxes, racks, etc., according to specifications."

The company also sold an assortment of running gears for the sheepwagons featured in their catalogues. Advertisements stated "the 'sheep camp' bed is generally used on a 2-1/2 or 2-3/4 Gear, but can be used on any size Gear desired." A buyer could choose from the catalogue such running gear as the "General Teaming Gear," the

[30] Sources include: Wentworth, *America's Sheep Trails*, 404-405; Georgetta, *Golden Fleece in Nevada*, 79-81. Again, the original source appears to have been Agnes Wright Spring's 1940 article in *Wyoming Stockman-Farmer*, where she dated the Buxton modifications to the year 1902, which became 1892 in later sources. An article about the Schulte Hardware Company in the *Casper Tribune-Herald and Star*, Nov. 11, 1956, dates Buxton's involvement to the early 1900s, rather than the 1890s date of Wentworth and Georgetta.

[31] Interview of B. Taliaferro, 1994.



e interior of a sheep agon had "all the mforts of home."

arles Belden photograph, ision of Cultural Resources, te of Wyoming

Advertisements for locally-built sheepwagons, Bill Barlow's Budget, Douglas, 1907.

"Block Tongue Double Reach Gear" or the "Patent Truss Skein Stiff Tongue Low Wheel Clipped Gear."[32]

It is interesting to note that although the basic wagon shell was standard. Studebaker advertised their camps as "built to order," personalized according to the wishes of the buyer. This personalization, by both the builder and the buyer, was a hallmark of the versatile wagon, a tradition that continues even today with the few modern wagons still made.

A curiosity of the sheepwagon for which no definitive source can be found is the use of the term "sheep camp" rather than sheepwagon. Sheep camp seems to be a term commonly used in southwestern Wyoming as well as parts of the Big Horn Basin. In other areas of the state, sheepwagon is the accepted term. One can speculate that perhaps the term "camp" was a Utah influence, possibly of Mormon origin. In Utah, also a large sheep producing state, the wagon is commonly referred to as a "camp" and the modern day manufacturers of the wagons still refer to them as such.

The term "camp" may also be a holdover from the early days before the widespread use of the sheepwagon, when the herder slept on the ground or in a tent. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that as early as 1902, the Studebaker Company referred to their sheepwagon as a "camp." However, it is also curious that in an ad for the Montpelier, Idaho, branch of the Studebaker Company, which appeared in 1906-07, the term "sheep wagon" rather than camp was used by the same company.[33]

Studebaker used two colors: green for the wago box, red on the running gears.[34] This color combinatio persists in the restored wagons of today and appears t have been the most popular. Other sheepwagon maker such as A. & A. C. Rice Company of Douglas, painted a least some of their wagon boxes blue, with vermillio running gears and bright yellow pinstripes. The Ric Company also numbered their wagons. Tom Lindmeie superintendent of South Pass City, bought Rice wagon #(mounted on the Minnesota-manufactured Winona runnin gears.[35]

Perhaps the most common way of obtaining sheepwagon in Wyoming was to go to the local black smith; every town had at least one.[36]

Advertisements for sheepwagon builders first ap peared in the Wyoming State Business Directory in th early years of the twentieth century. The 1904-05 director included ads for Cody blacksmith, G. McLaughlin, "Builde

[32] *Studebaker Brothers Catalogue No. 215*, (1902), 215; *Catalogue No. 604*, (1912), 41, 55, 94.

[33] *Wyoming State Business Directory, 1906-1907* (Denver: The Gazetteer Publishing Co., 1906), 613. The 1908-09 Directory lists this company's address as Afton, Wyoming.

[34] Dunlop, Wheels West, p.172.

[35] Telephone interview of Tom Lindmeier, March 19, 1993. Vern Vivion recalled that the wagons of Leo Sheep Company and Rock Mountain Sheep Company were mounted on Winona running gear

[36] *Wyoming State Business Directory, 1906-07*, 514-15, listed 111 blacksmiths; the 1920 edition of the Directory, 526-27, listed 122 blacksmiths.

f Sheep Wagons." The same directory also listed two ames under the heading "Sheep Wagon Manufacturers": AcGrath & Jones of Casper and D. V. Bayne of hermopolis.[37]

The 1908-09 Business Directories included ads for ther builders of the wagons: "J. C. Jacobsen, Builder of heep Wagons To Order" from Cokeville; Cody's H. H. chwoob who advertised "Sheep Wagons, Wagons and uggies Built to Order"; and F. L. Belcher of Wheatland, Manufacturer of the Belcher Sheep Wagon. Give Me a rial." Ads such as these appeared in the directories until 920.[38]

Sheepwagon builders also advertised in local news-apers. The two rival builders in Douglas, the previously ientioned Florence Hardware Company and the A. and A. . Rice Company, both placed ads in the *Douglas Budget* eaturing pictures of the type of sheepwagon each com-any built.[39]

The building of sheepwagons by a local blacksmith, n many cases, probably involved a team effort. The rocess could include men with different specialties such s a wagonwright and a blacksmith. Rans Baker described ie process that a typical Rawlins-built sheep wagon went rough. Blacksmith Jim Sorenson, who was trained as a eam mechanic, did the metal work on the wagon; Charley ohnson, a wagonwright by profession, built the wooden wheels and the box. Or the running gears could be purchased separately from the Bain or Studebaker Companies. The local hardware store stocked the small Handy 714L or 816L woodstove, popular models often installed in sheepwagons.[40]

Elmer Huff, Buffalo sheepwagon builder.
Photo courtesy of Annette Huff Francovic

Johnson County ranchers have fond memories of their sheepwagon builder, Buffalo blacksmith Elmer Huff. They speak of the Huff sheepwagons with reverence. They were so well-built that many are intact and still in use today. Huff arrived in Buffalo around 1930, and may have learned to build sheepwagons from his father-in-law, James Henderson, a blacksmith and wagon builder in Buffalo during the 1920s. Together, Henderson and Huff operated the Buffalo Forge Company, until Huff bought the business in the early 1930s and continued as a blacksmith until his death in 1961.[41]

Basque sheepranchers, Graycee Esponda Miller, paid a moving tribute to Elmer Huff in the obituary she wrote: "He was a true artist with tools.... Even the prairies are dotted with memories of the deceased as most all of the sheepwagons in this area were built by Mr. Huff, or his predecessor and late father-in-law Jim Henderson."[42]

Huff built sheepwagons for uses other than ranching, such as the wagon at St. Joseph's Orphanage in Torrington and the Girl Scout wagon in Cheyenne, the interior fitted for office use. Huff also built five or six specialty wagons in the 1950s, locally referred to as "honeymoon wagons." Larger than the standard sheepwagon, they measured about 14 feet long and nearly 7 feet wide. They were unusual in that, although they retained the traditional sheepwagon form, Huff built them directly for a rubber-tired chassis. Some had heated floors. Sheep ranchers, possibly influenced by their wives, commissioned Huff to build these deluxe models, which the ranch couple, and perhaps some of their children, lived in during summers in the Big Horn Mountains.[43]

Huff did not invent this "honeymoon" genre, however. The Old West Museum in Cheyenne has a honeymoon wagon, a gift of the Etchepare family. This wagon, built in the 1920s for the Warren Livestock Company, is close to 14 feet long and 7 feet wide. According to some sources, there was a reason why the standard sheepwagon

[37] *Wyoming State Business Directory, 1904-05* (Denver:The Gazetteer Publishing Co., 1904), 172, 572.

[38] *Wyoming State Business Directory, 1908-09* (Denver: The Gazetteer Publishing Co., 1908), pp. 189, 197, 429. The 1920-1935 Business Directories contained no listings or ads for sheepwagon builders.

[39] *Bill Barlow's Budget*, Anniversary Edition, 1907.

[40] Although other stoves were used, the Handy is the one most often seen in old wagons. Ranchers still rave about the Handy stove, although one herder recalled the Handy stove as anything but "handy." Interview of Simon Iberlin, Buffalo, July 12, 1993; Interview of Trish Teeterman Turk, Douglas, November 14, 1993.

[41] Interview of V. Huff, 1993; Interview of Annette Huff Francovic, Buffalo, October 17, 1993.

[42] *Buffalo Bulletin*, April, 1961.

[43] Interview of Florence Urizaga Camino, Buffalo, October 16, 1993. Interviews of V. Huff and A. Francovic, 1993.

measured no more than 12 feet long. A longer wagon proved inefficient in rough country and often "tore apart."[44]

It is not surprising that by 1910, sheepwagons were being built in all parts of the state, for Wyoming stock sheep numbered approximately 5-1/2 million, the peak year for sheep numbers in the state.[45] Carbon County, which includes Rawlins, boasted of being the largest sheep producing county in the world at this time.[46]

A large sheep ranch operation might have as many as thirty wagons, the number used by the Warren Livestock Company of Cheyenne for years. Warren kept two English-born blacksmiths employed full-time during the 1920s and 1930s. Their job included building and repairing sheepwagons.[47] The Blair and Hay outfit of Rock Springs used fifteen or sixteen sheepwagons for a long time, as did the Taliaferro ranch in Sweetwater County.[48]

If one calculates that each herder and wagon had charge of 1,000 to 2,500 sheep (depending on the season), one can extrapolate that during the golden years of the Wyoming sheep industry, there may have been 2200 sheepwagons in the state. The exact number of sheepwagons used during the heyday will never be known but longtime ranchers talk of a "wagon on every knob" of the winter range and remember seeing many herders and wagons gathered at the foot of the summer mountain range, waiting their turn on the sheep trail.[49]

Although many sheepherders were hard-working, sober family men, a drunken loner is one stereotypical image of the herder. It is true that some of the early herders were men escaping their past, who took to the bottle at every opportunity. Third-generation Sweetwater County sheep rancher, Bill Taliaferro, remembers that his family never supplied vanilla or lemon extract to their herders because they drank it. He also recalled that many of the herders his family used were Mormon men from Utah, who did indeed have a drinking problem, and had been ostracized by their families and the strict Mormon society.

Taliaferro also spoke of a "social network" that existed among the Sweetwater County ranchers, doctors, bartenders, and flop house owners during the 1940s and 1950s. If the herder was on a spree in town, the people in the informal network notified the rancher, who took charge of drying the man out and putting him back to work on the range a few weeks later.[50]

Another stereotype is that all herders were Basque, from the Pyrenees Mountains of Spain or France. While it is true that many Basque herders worked in Johnson County at one time, other areas of Wyoming had different ethnic traditions, often directly related to the nationality of the rancher.

Like the Basques of Johnson County, the first generation Irish sheep ranchers of Natrona County imported herders from their native country. Irish-born men such as Patrick Sullivan and Mickey Burke established their sheep ranches in central Wyoming, then sent for herders from the old country. The Ellis family, present-day sheep ranchers in the Casper area, got their start in Wyoming by working for an uncle, sheep rancher Tim Mahoney, who paid their passage from County Cork, Ireland. These men, in turn, became ranchers and continued the tradition of recruiting herders from their native land.[51]

Nineteenth-century Wyoming sheepman, Robert Taylor, a native of Scotland, provided jobs for his fellow countrymen, who began as herders, progressed to partners and eventually established their own successful sheep outfits. Wyoming sheepranchers W. T. Hogg (Taylor's brother-in-law), Robert Grieve, George Taylor (nephew of Robert), and brothers Richard and David Young are among those Scots who received their start from Taylor.[52]

The Scottish-born ranchers of Campbell and Johnson Counties did much the same thing with their relatives or men from their home land. In *The Heart Is Highland* author Vivian Innes Letson described this close-knit Scottish sheep ranching community in the early 1900s.[53]

[44] Interview B. Taliaferro, Feb. 1994.

[45] Wyoming Agricultural Statistics, p. 17.

[46] Although no source was found for this claim, it was repeated to the author by a number of Carbon County sheep ranchers. A possible explanation for the boast may found in: John Mahoney, *Fort Steele State Historic Site* (Cheyenne: Wyoming Recreation Commission, January 1990), 15. From 1905-10, Walcott Junction, located in Carbon County, was the busiest railroad loading point between Omaha, Neb., and Ogden, Utah. Besides mining equipment and smelter products, freight shipped from Walcott in 1905 included 800,000 pounds of wool to Boston, the largest single shipment ever produced in Wyoming.

47 Interview, Walter "Spud" Murphy, Cheyenne, July 2, 1994. Murphy was born and reared at the Warren Livestock Company's Terry Ranch, where his father was a foreman. As a child, he remembered watching the two English blacksmiths, Tom Wilcox and Tom Tripp, build sheepwagons.

[48] Interview of Leonard Hay, Rock Springs, February 23, 1994; Interview of B. Taliaferro, 1994.

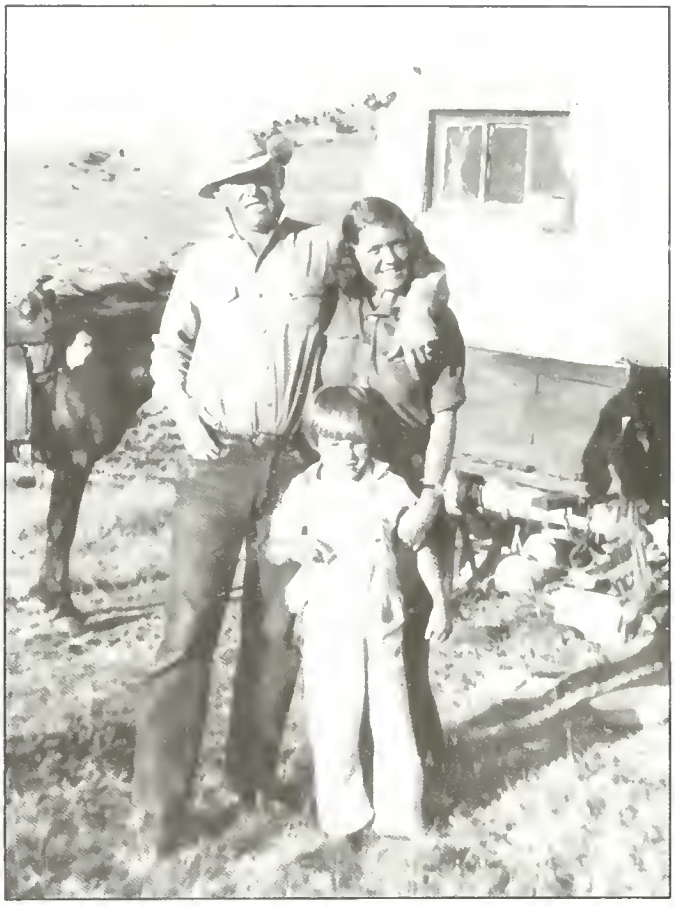
[49] Interview of B. Taliaferro, 1993; Interview of L. Hay, 1993.

[50] Interview, B. Taliaferro, 1993.

[51] *Casper Star-Tribune*, November 5, 1980; *Wyoming Wool Grower*, June 1990, 16.

[52] Wentworth, America's Sheep Trails, 327.

[53] Vivian Innes Letson, *The Heart Is Highland: A True Story of Scots in Early Wyoming* (n.p., 1990).



Above) Young Pete Turk takes a bath in sight of the amily's sheepwagon in the Big Horn Mountains, 1948. Above, right) Brookie, Louise and Vivian Turk at their heep camp in the Big Horn Mountains, 1941. Both hotographs courtesy of Louise Turk

A different tradition existed in southern Wyoming here many ranchers employed Hispanic herders from ew Mexico or southern Colorado. Herding for a particu- r Wyoming sheep rancher often became a family tradi- on, as a man introduced his son or brother into the usiness. A number of these Hispanic families eventually ettled in the towns along the Union Pacific in the early 0th century. Today, people of Hispanic origin in these owns can recall stories told to them by their fathers or randfathers about their sheepherding days.[54]

A number of ranchers related superstitions that de- eloped among the early herders. Some herders refused to ay in the sheepwagon if it faced any direction other than outheast when they looked out the door. If the wagon was arked with the door at the southeast, then one always slept ith one's head facing north. If the feet faced north, rather an the head, it was a sign of death and burial.[55]

Practical reasons also dictated placing the wagon in certain direction. The door usually faced southeast ecause of the prevailing winds. Meat was often stored on e right side of the wagon (the north side if parked orrectly") where it stayed cool. Sour dough placed near the stove remained warm. Bacon grease rubbed on the end of the wagon tongue protected the wagon from lightning storms of summer.[56]

Herding was not just a male profession. Women were also sheepherders, both historically and in contemporary times. Louise Turk, of Sussex, began working for the Meike Ranch as a sheepherder in 1940. She got into the business when she married one of the Meike herders, Brookie Turk. For years, Louise and Brookie lived in a sheepwagon every summer in the Big Horn Mountains with their children. Fourteen years after her husband's death, seventy-three-year-old Louise still spends summers in a sheepwagon parked on the mountain range, fixing fence and tending the Meike sheep and cattle.[57]

Trish Teeterman Turk, of Johnson County, spent ten years herding sheep in the Big Horn Mountains and Basin.

[54] Interview of Ann Esquibel Redman, Cheyenne, May 5, 1993; Interview of V. Vivion, 1994; Interview of L. Hay, 1994.

[55] Interviews of Jerry Pike and Cleo Corkill, Powder River, July 17, 1993.

[56] Interview of D. Meike, 1993; Interviews of J. Pike and C. Corkill, 1993.

[57] Interview of Louise Turk, Big Horn Mountains, Sept. 3, 1994.

Her home was a sheepwagon. A young woman, Trish got into the herding business after she lost her office job in the bust of the early 1980s. Trish believes that women make better herders because of their nurturing instinct with the sheep and dogs. She also stated that women herders, as a rule, do not drink and are cleaner than male herders. Bill Taliaferro mentioned that his uncle talked of hiring Navajo women, the traditional tribal herders, to come work for him in the 1940s.[58]

The few herders on the Wyoming range today are mostly foreign-born men from such countries as Peru, Mexico, or even China. One rancher spoke of hiring a man from Tibet. As a herder, this man would have no trouble adjusting to the highest altitudes of the summer range in the Wind Rivers.[59] Wyoming ranchers procure their herders from two companies: Western Range in California and Mountain Plains in Casper. The foreign herder usually contracts to work in this country for three years, then returns to his homeland.[60]

It may come as a surprise to some that families also lived in sheepwagons. Historic photos show women and babies in the wagons whose interiors exhibit a "woman's touch": curtains at the windows, silver and china neatly stacked on shelves, knick-knacks and pictures on display. In the early days, the sheep rancher just starting out often did his own herding. A wife and a child or two might live in the sheepwagon with him until the ranch became more profitable and his family moved to a more permanent location, usually in town.

Other people lived in sheepwagons for reasons unrelated to sheep herding, especially during the depression years. When Bill Norton attended Douglas High School in the late 1920s, his father moved a sheepwagon onto a vacant lot in town that became Norton's home while he was a student. Norton remembered transient cowboys staying in one of his father's sheepwagon for a night or two before they moved on.[61]

Sheepwagons proved a popular home for school teachers during the 1930s. In an article written for the *Wyoming Rural Electric News*, author Jessie A. Bryant recalled that she lived in a sheepwagon as a baby with her mother who taught school near Saratoga.[62] Zella Pelloux Slayton of Buffalo found employment as a school teacher in rural Johnson County in 1940. Shortly after beginning her new job, the teacherage burned to the ground. Slayton's father, sheep rancher Martin Pelloux, gave her the sheepwagon she lived in for the next 2-1/2 years while she taught.[63]

Similarly, Pauline Peyton of Douglas agreed to become the teacher at the rural North Point School in Converse County "if she had a sheepwagon." A local rancher obliged and Peyton lived in a sheepwagon for a school year, parked next to the one-room schoolhouse. Peyton's sheepwagon even served as a temporary school building for the five pupils until a skunk that had set up his home in the schoolhouse was run off.[64]

[58] Interview of T. Turk, 1993; Interview of B. Taliaferro, 1994.

[59] Interview of John Arambel, Rock Springs, April 15, 1994.

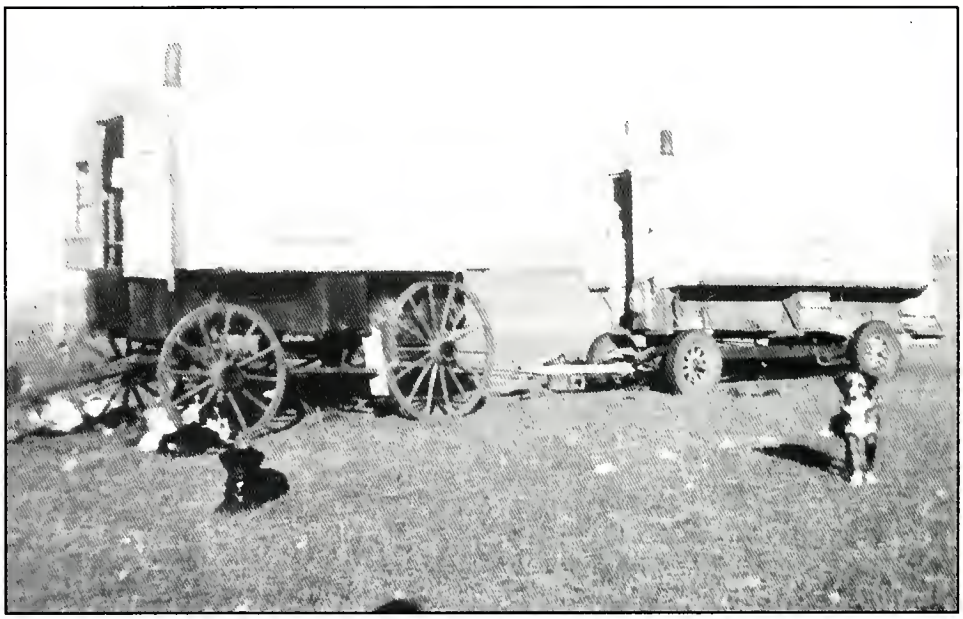
[60] Telephone interview of Larry Garro, Western Range Association Feb. 7, 1994; Interview of B. Taliaferro, 1994.

[61] Interview, B. Norton, 1993.

[62] Jessie A. Bryant, "Wagon was home to the herder," *Wyoming Rural Electric News* (June 1980), 5-6.

[63] Interview of Z. Slayton, 1993.

[64] Interview by Pauline Peyton, Douglas, Nov. 14, 1993. The story is also related in *Pages From Converse County's Past* (Heritage Book Committee, Wyoming Pioneer Association, 1986), 725-26.



Turk family sheepwagon with wooden wheels next to a wagon with rubber tires belonging to Fred Lohse. Photograph courtesy of Louise Turk

Historic photographs show the versatile sheepwagon being used in a variety of settings. A photo from the teens or early 1920s shows heavy equipment being freighted to the Salt Creek Oil fields with a sheepwagon bringing up the rear of the cargo. Perhaps the wagon served as temporary housing for those working in the oil field.[65]

A similar photo of a wagon train laden with wool sacks includes a sheepwagon at the rear, no doubt used as overnight lodging for the freighter in a journey that could take four or five days in the era before the railroad reached the interior of Wyoming.[66] A photograph of a Civilian Conservation Corps crew at work on a roadbed features the unmistakable shape of a sheepwagon in the background, which appeared to be used as mobile storage for equipment.[67]

Many people, both men and women, have fond memories of their time spent living in a sheepwagon, testaments to the practicality of the compact unit. Perhaps there was something comforting to life in a small 6-1/2 x 11-1/2 foot space, which contained all one needed to survive. It is certainly a stripped-down existence, but one that has merit for its very simplicity. A story told by sheepherder Louise Turk illustrates the durability of this folk form of architecture.

During World War II, husband and wife sheepherders, Louise and Brookie Turk, left their ranching life in Johnson County, Wyoming, and followed Louise's family to Seattle, where Brookie found work in the defense industry. After living with her parents for awhile, the Turks decided to build "a small shack" of their own.

> Someone nearby had torn down a building, so we bought enough scrap material to build our 'house.' When we finished building, we had something that was a cross between a sheepwagon and a present-day camp trailer without wheels. One end had a built-in bed with a table that pulled out from under it, just like a sheepwagon... A big bin with a hinged lid served as seating on one side of the table, and Brookie built a bench for the other side. At the other end of the house were bunk beds for the kids, with closets at each end and drawers under the bottom bunk where they could keep their personal things.... We cooked and heated with a sheepwagon stove we'd had Harvey ship from Wyoming... We didn't have much room but I was happier than I'd been anywhere else we'd lived, probably because it seemed more like my wagon home in Wyoming.[68]

The slow decline in the sheep industry began after World War II, which had an enormous impact on the

Three men pose at the back door of a sheepwagon. They are, left to right, Joe Pelloux, Frank Roggero (an Italian sheepherder), and Martin Pelloux. Photograph courtesy of Zella Pelloux Slayton

agriculture business. Ranchers speak of the difficulty of finding good help after the war, as men left herding for better paying jobs elsewhere. By the 1950s, those ranchers with deeded land began to fence large tracts and leave the sheep untended, without a herder. This became possible due to better roads and the modernization in equipment, especially the pick-up truck and four-wheel drive vehicles introduced to the general public after the war. With a vehicle able to traverse Wyoming's rough terrain, it now became easier for a rancher to check his herd of sheep daily, if he wished. The vast lonely grazing areas, formerly accessible only by horse, gradually became less remote. Everyone interviewed by the author spoke of the enormous change in the industry following WW II.

As early as the 1920s, the Ahlander Company of Provo, Utah, manufactured a modernized version of the sheepwagon. Known by the name, "Home on the Range," and built specifically for rubber tires, the camps had flat bottoms and sides that allowed for more storage space. According to Utah historian Tom Carter, the Ahlander Company built 3000 "Home on the Range" camps between 1920 and 1976, when the firm closed.[69] By 1940, Casper's Schulte Hardware Company also produced a

[65] Wyoming State Museum:Historical Research, Photo #42.
[66] Wyoming State Museum:Historical Research, Photo #15259.
[67] Wyoming State Museum:Historical Research, WPA File #388; *The Grazing Bulletin* 4, (April 1941).
[68] Louise Turk, unpublished manuscript, 1994
[69] Tom Carter, "Home on the Range," 1979

modern version of the sheepwagon, which resembled Utah's "Home on the Range" camps.[70]

In spite of the modern innovations in the wagon, many ranchers continued to use the traditional version of the wooden-wheeled sheepwagon. The transition to rubber tires was a slow one in Wyoming. Some ranchers first experimented with tractors as replacements for the teams of horses that pulled the wagon. This method proved inefficient because the iron that encased the wooden wheel overheated if the tractor traveled above ten miles an hour.

By the mid-1950s, after fifteen years of gradual transformation, most of the forty- or fifty-year-old sheepwagons still in use around the state had been removed from their original wooden running gear and placed on rubber-tired chassis, often salvaged from a Model T or A vehicle. The pick-up truck became the vehicle of choice to pull the converted sheepwagon between the summer and winter grazing areas.

Elmer Huff, like many blacksmiths of the time, used a truck or car chassis to convert the sheepwagon to rubber wheels during the 1950s. Huff's wife recalled the difficult time her husband had in tearing apart an old Chevy running gear and rebuilding it to fit the wagon, a job that took weeks. Huff also replaced the canvas tops with sheet metal and added a double-hung window to the side walls of older wagons, including many of those he built originally.[71]

Although no modern sheepwagons were manufactured in Wyoming after the Schulte Hardware Company ceased production in 1940, three sheepwagon companies operated in Utah during the 1970s. Wilson Camps, Inc., of Midway is the only one remaining today. It is a sixteen-year-old company made up of two generations of former sheepranchers, Father Emer Wilson and his two sons, Doyle and Mark. They produce three sizes of rubber-tired, customized wagons: 7' x 12', 7' x 14', and 7' x 16'. The wagons are priced from $8500 to $11,500 each, depending on options such as an additional roll-out bed, the solar, electrical and propane packages, and the water system. The company makes from fifteen to twenty-five wagons a year.

Wilson Camps makes half of their wagons for non-agricultural uses. The federal government bought some of the camps to house trappers at a remote Utah experimental station. A National Park Service employee lived in a Wilson camp while guarding Indian artifacts from looters in southern Utah. Retired couples have purchased the camps and used them as travel trailers.[72]

That Wilson Camps, the sole commercial manufacturer of sheepwagons in the Rocky Mountain region, makes only 15 to 25 wagons a year, half of those for non-agricultural use, reflects the fact that the working sheepwagon is just about obsolete. Like other industries, the modernization of the business, ironically, has led to the discarding of those traditional items once so crucial to the initial success of the business, in this case the sheepwagon and herder which sustained the industry for so long. Other factors, of course, come into play.

The Wyoming sheep industry is at an all-time low which the historical statistics reflect. The number of Wyoming stock sheep peaked in 1910 at 5,480,000; fell to 3,778,000 in 1940; 2,360,000 in 1960; and declined another 50 percent by 1980. The January 1, 1995, number of just 538,000 stock sheep in the entire state is the lowest count of the industry since the 1880 figures of 517,000.[73]

Obviously, the Wyoming sheep industry is threatened more today than at any other time in its 120-year history. Faced with low prices for both wool and lamb, a controversial predator control program, loss of the wool incentive and the hotly debated grazing reform, many third and fourth generation sheep ranchers are considering bailing out of the industry as others who saw the writing on the wall have done over the past twenty years. When a rancher sells out, what also goes on the auction block are the implements and tools related to the individual ranches and the industry. One of the most sought after of those items today is the sheepwagon.

A cottage industry has developed in Wyoming and nearby states over the past five years. Individuals are buying sheepwagons and renovating them for high resale value. The restored, often totally rebuilt wagons with gleaming deluxe interiors, have been removed from their original context. They have acquired a new function as a guest room, an office, a child's playroom, a decorative yard ornament, or an expensive piece of trendy western memorabilia for the wealthy.[74]

Other wagons are not restored, just abandoned at the spot where they came to rest many years ago. From various

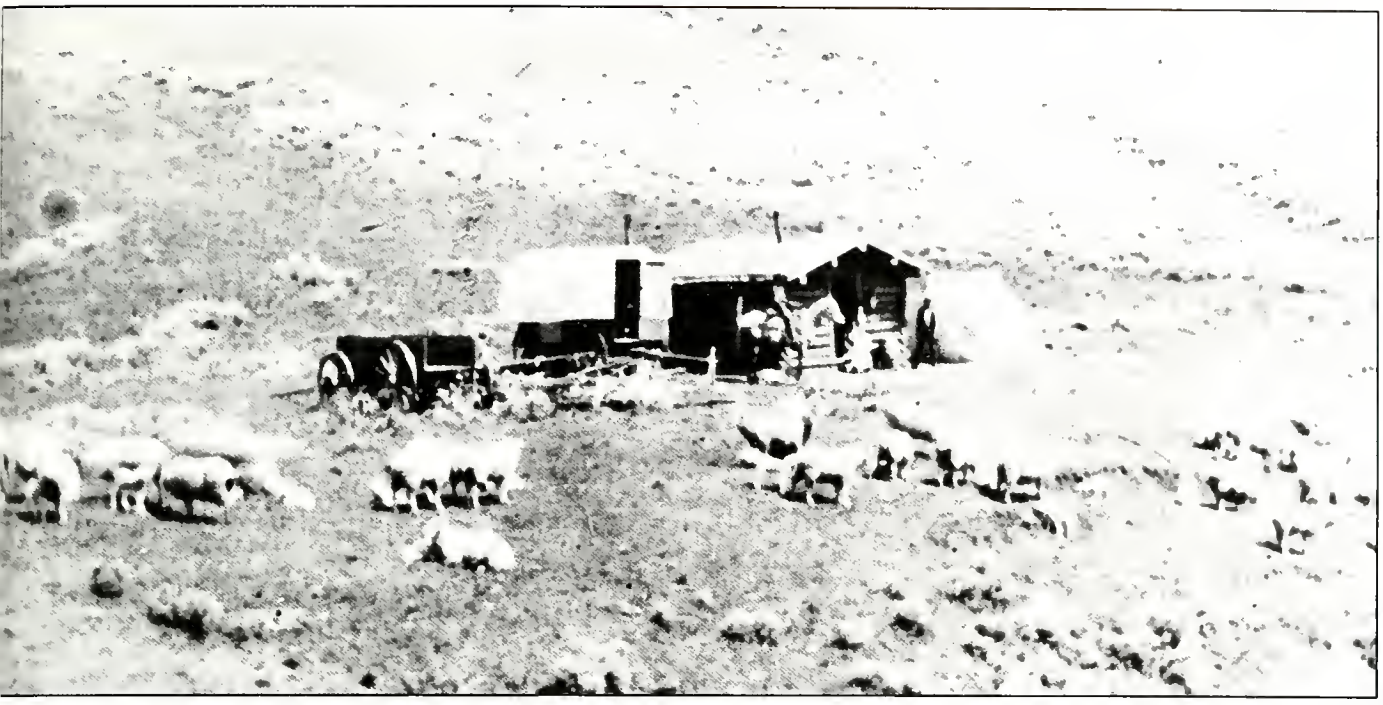
[70] Agnes Wright Spring, *Wyoming Stockman-Farmer*, 1940.

[71] Interviews of S. Iberlin, V. Huff, A. Francovic, 1993.

[72] Telephone Interview, Emer Wilson, July 6, 1994; Telephone Interview, Doyle Wilson by Feb. 13, 1995; Wilson Camps, Inc., brochure, 1994.

[73] Many thanks to Richard Coulter, State Statistician, Wyoming Agricultural Statistics, for help with interpretation of historic sheep industry statistics.

[74] Interview, John Burke, July 18, 1993; B. Norton, 1993; telephone interview, Terry Baird, Nov. 10, 1994. Baird restores sheepwagons in Big Timber, Montana. His latest sheepwagon sold for $35,000. Actress Nicole Kidman gave it to her husband, Tom Cruise, for Christmas.



Sheep surrounding a sheep camp, Natrona County. Hemry Collection, Cultural Resources Division, State of Wyoming

ocations along Interstate 80, one can see three or four decaying sheepwagons on what was once a vibrant sheep andscape. The sheepwagon, for years the most recogniz- ible symbol of the sheep business, is becoming like the ndustry itself, an endangered species—a thing of the past.

But the sheepwagon is so unique and original that the mage endures. The sheepwagon, once scorned by those outside of the industry, is being transformed, like the cowboy before it, into a romantic symbol of Wyoming and he Old West. It seems the further the working sheepwagon recedes into our past, the more popular it has become as an con. Sheepwagons pop up in many places—on a cafe placemat, as Christmas ornaments or mailboxes, on post- cards and notecards, a logo for the Wyoming Wool Growers. Old sheepwagons are being recycled for adver- ising purposes, as a novelty accommodation at a dude ranch, in rodeo parades, as Welcome Wagons on the outskirts of a small town, or an information booth at Cheyenne Frontier Days.

The sheepwagon was a common sight on the land- scape of Wyoming and became so familiar that it has been overlooked as an important part of the state's material culture. Entire books are devoted to artifacts of the cattle ndustry such as ranches, barbed wire, hats, boots, ropes, saddles; not so with the sheep business. Other than a few rticles every ten or fifteen years about the quaint sheepwagon or the lonely life of the rapidly disappearing sheepherder, no definitive history of the western sheep business has been written since 1948.[75]

But times are changing. In 1995, at least three museums in the state are focusing on the history of the Wyoming sheep industry. Each exhibit showcases a historic sheepwagon. Like an arrowhead that represents an earlier culture and relates something of the history of a time and place, maybe the sheepwagon, as the most important cultural artifact and symbol of the historic sheep industry, will serve a similar purpose, as a vehicle to tell the story.

[75] The last definitive history of the western sheep industry was Wentworth's *America's Sheep Trails*.

Author Nancy Weidel received a grant from the Wyoming Council for the Humanities for independent research on the Wyoming sheepwagon. She is continuing her study of the historic sheep business and is writing a book about the subject. As part of the 1995-96 Humanities Council Speakers Bureau, Weidel presents a slide show/lecture about the Wyoming sheepwagon to various groups around the state. She has a masters degree in American history and presently works as a historian at the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office.

RAILROAD LADIES

"Front Parlor, Mary Humphrey's, Cheyenne, c. 1900." Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth.

Prostitution in Laramie, Wyoming 1868-1900

by Carol Lee Bowers

We may never succeed in finding out all that has happened in history but events matter and describing them as accurately as possible (although never with certain finality) can, at the very least show us whose foot has been on whose neck.[1]

South of the site where Laramie City[2] would spring from the Wyoming plains, there was Fort Sanders, a military outpost established in 1866 to provide protection to wagon trains, the Overland Stage, local settlers, and later, workers laying track for the Union Pacific Railroad. Soon after the establishment of Fort Sanders, there was String Town, a cluster of squalid, makeshift shacks and tents huddled along the banks of what was then known as Elizabeth Creek a few miles north of the fort. There peddlers and gamblers and a few "cyprians" awaited the coming of the railroad, while providing the soldiers from Fort Sanders, and others who might straggle in, with the diversions that lonely soldiers have sought on leave throughout the course of history. With the coming of the railroad, the bustling end-of-tracks town of Laramie City would spread itself east of String Town, and another chapter in the settlement of the Rocky Mountain West would begin.

Laramie City was platted by February, 1868, and the Union Pacific Railroad began selling lots soon afterward. By the time the first passenger train chugged its way into Laramie City on May 10, 1868, the town had a population of more than two thousand persons.[3] The streets were crowded with lumber jacks, tie hacks, railroaders, soldiers, sheepherders, cowboys, ranchers, and other settlers. Men coming into town from the relative isolation of Fort Sanders, the open prairie and the surrounding mountains were eager for the excitement and companionship to be found in the Laramie City dance halls, saloons, gambling halls and brothels. These men had money to spend and Laramie City was teeming with ambitious entrepreneurs fiercely competing to relieve them of it. Shoulder to shoulder and eye to eye with the men came certain members of the reputably gentler sex. The 'fair but frail' public women, outcasts from the Cult of True Womanhood, joined in the scramble to profit from the lucrative Laramie City market. Doxies and mollies, soiled doves and fallen angels, they flocked to Laramie City, hoping to share in the economic windfall of yet another Western boom town. The tragic, sordid reality of these women's experiences, however, was a far cry from the romanticized role they now occupy in the popular mythology of the American West.

Some women came with men and entered Laramie City's vice district after being widowed or abandoned. Other women engaged in prostitution in Laramie City by choice, considering it easier and more profitable work than the drudgery of the few, low-paying domestic service jobs available to them. Some Laramie prostitutes came singly, others arrived in groups. They came from Scotland, Denmark, Germany, Ireland, Norway, and nearly every state in the Union. They were white, they were black, they were mulatto, they were Asian. They ranged in age from twelve to forty-three, though a few were far older.[4] They lived and worked alone, in pairs, or in the larger community of a brothel. They stole, they drank, they smoked, they brawled, and they cursed. They were blatantly sexual in an age when women's sexuality was regarded as passionless and a "duty." They bore children, they obtained abortions, they contracted venereal diseases. They were alcoholics, addicts, mothers, lovers and sometimes wives. They sold their bodies and their time and often, it would seem, their souls...and they frequently died - either by their own hand or someone else's.

Prostitutes lived both inside and outside the community. They made significant contributions to the local economy, both voluntarily as consumers and involuntarily through the payment of fines and fees imposed by the courts. However, as social pariahs, prostitutes also lived, both literally and figuratively, on the social margins, usually in the designated vice district, also variously known as the red light district, the tenderloin, or the demimonde or "half-world." The exigencies of prostitutes' lives dic-

[1] George Lipsitz, *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), 214.

[2] The name "Laramie City" was officially shortened to "Laramie" in 1886.

[3] Census of Wyoming Territory, 1869.

[4] United States Census, Laramie City, Wyoming, 1870, 1880, 1900.

tated that they circumvent laws and ordinances to carry on their "lively commerce." Alienated from the mainstream community, prostitutes' lives were shaped by codes of behavior, occupational hierarchies, and economic imperatives unique to the deviant subculture of the demimonde.

Many women entered prostitution hoping to achieve a degree of financial independence which would allow them to enjoy a higher standard of living than they could hope for through the subsistence wages earned by women laboring in menial domestic service jobs. Some women were able to earn enough to open their own "houses" or to invest in real estate or reputable business ventures.[5] The relatively few women who were able to achieve such economic and social empowerment did so through the exploitation of other women in the prostitution network. For most prostitutes, dreams of financial independence and a care-free "sporting life" were ultimately dashed as they encountered the harsh realities of financial exploitation by madams, pimps and civic authorities, physical and emotional abuse, chemical addiction, and disease. The individual agency which prostitution allowed women to exert over their lives was circumscribed by social alienation, impoverishment, and physical vulnerability.

During the early boom phase of Western towns, when few "good" women were present in the community, prostitutes enjoyed a higher social status and greater community integration than in subsequent periods of a town's development. The arrival of greater numbers of respectable women, the establishment of town governments, and the stabilization of the business community and labor force led to inevitable clashes between the Victorian moral ideology of the respectable population and the deviancy of the demimonde. Laramie City was no exception. Settlement patterns of Laramie City show that as the town matured prostitutes were increasingly forced into the social margins in a clearly delineated, municipally regulated district.[6] Additionally, prostitutes' invisibility and social alienation were intensified by social barriers and city ordinances which restricted their mobility within the community. An example of such restrictions is an 1887 city ordinance forbidding prostitutes to "ride, drive or walk through the streets, except singly."[7] While prostitutes often disregarded restrictive local ordinances, and appealed to the city council and the courts to remedy their grievances, they were seldom successful in improving their lot.

Prostitution was regarded as a "necessary evil" - an outlet for the release of men's sexual passions which, theoretically, could not be accommodated by ideally asexual, dutiful, respectable Victorian women. Prostitutes were intended to be used but not seen. Their interactions with and tolerance by the mainstream community were driven by economic considerations. Prostitutes were discussed, censured, regulated and exploited, and had little voice in the political economy which dictated many of the conditions of their daily lives.

Often poor and illiterate, prostitutes were frequently unable to generate first person accounts of their experiences. Due to the scarcity of such primary sources as personal diaries, letters, journals or photographs, the stories of prostitutes' individual and collective experiences must be pieced together from such third person accounts as court dockets, newspaper articles, medical records, jail registers, probate papers, and coroner's inquest transcripts. Such records, it should be remembered, were usually generated by men and often reflect a patriarchal perspective. Paradoxically, it is through the absence of prostitutes' images that they become most visible, and through their silences that they speak with the strongest voice of exclusion, of misery, and of hopelessness.

Today the brothels and hurdy-gurdies of early Laramie have vanished, but the railroad ladies who plied their trade on Laramie's old Front Street still live in local legend. As we sift their stories from existing records and local folklore it is possible to brush the dust from the windowpane of time and take a backward glimpse at the realities of life in the demimonde of Laramie City, Wyoming.

Laramie City and the Lively Commerce

As the Union Pacific tracks neared the new railhead town of Laramie City, saloons, gambling halls, mercantiles, outfitters and brothels materialized almost overnight in tents or buildings thrown up haphazardly in the race to commence business. In the middle of the melee, on the southwest corner of what is now Ivinson Avenue and Second Street, stood Bull's Big Tent, a nefarious establishment that moved to each railhead town as the Union Pacific pressed westward. Across the street and slightly farther south stood the Keystone Dance Hall, one of many smaller, but equally dingy pleasure palaces where men could dance with one of Laramie's lovelies for a small price, and undoubtedly, make arrangements for other types of entertainment as well. Respectable women, accompanied by

[5] Discussion of the occupational culture of prostitution may be found in Anne Butler, *Daughters of Joy, Sisters of Misery* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987); and Ruth Rosen, *The Lost Sisterhead* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982).

[6] United States Census, Laramie City, Wyoming, 1870, 1880, 1900.

their husbands, or other male escorts, also occasionally visited dance halls such as the Keystone for an afternoon or evening's diversion.[8] Nevertheless, most of the women to be found in establishments such as the Keystone and Bull's Big Tent had clear ties to the vice community.

Little is known about the scope of the amenities offered at the Keystone, but Bull's Big Tent had it all - gambling, liquor, music, dance hall girls, and medical care. Bull's Big Tent employed women of questionable virtue to dance with men and then lead them to the bar for a drink at the conclusion of every round. In addition, many of these women offered sexual services to the Big Tent's patrons. Bull's Big Tent was undeniably a full service enterprise. The *Frontier Index* reported in late June 1868 that

> Dr. Allen...has opened an office in this city and will devote special attention to surgery and to treatment of sexual diseases. Best references given at his office and consultation room at the rear of Bull's Big Tent. Cures guaranteed.[9]

W. O. Owen came to Laramie City in the early spring of 1868 as a child of nine, living with his mother in a small house directly across the street from Bull's Big Tent. In his unpublished autobiography Owen recalled:

> Nearly everything was tents in those days ...the largest one of these was known as the "Big Tent" and in it was every gambling device known to the fraternity...it was a hurdy-gurdy of the vilest sort. All day and night without cessation dancing was in full swing, the women portion of the dancers being...camp followers who had followed the railway since its inception. It cost a man about ten dollars an hour to trip the light fantastic with those soiled doves, and if he had anything left they would drug him and strip him of everything of any value before kicking him into the street...Night and day we could hear the old familiar calls: "Allemande left!" "Balance All!" "Grand right and left!" "Swing your partners!" "Promenade to the bar!" And at frequent intervals came the strident announcement of the Keno dealer, "Keno is Correct!"[10]

Cyrus "Doc" Shores, a bullwhacker hauling railroad ies for the Union Pacific, also recorded his impressions of early Laramie City and its prostitutes in his memoirs.

> Laramie City was one of the hardest, toughest, and roughest towns when it was building up and the railroad was building through that was ever known in all the West. Congregated there...were...gamblers of all kinds, and all the toughest robbing gambling games ever known were carried on in that town, from the game called 'Three Card Monte' down to one called 'Union Pacific Lottery'...and there were three big dance halls full of the toughest women I ever saw...We stopped at Laramie [in 1868], camping across the river. I remember one day twenty-seven dance house women of all kinds came across the river on the bridge, all stripped, and two tough men with them, and they all went in swimming together in front of our camp. Some of the women were big old fat women. I thought at that time it was the worst sight I had ever seen.[11]

Laramie, late 1860s. American Heritage Center photograph

Soon after the railroad arrived in Laramie City, the *Frontier Index* hailed the opening of J. O. Chrisman's opulent Diana. Advertised as the "largest sporting house west of New York," the Diana promised "amusements of every name and variety...games and plays, music and tempting luxuries, eatables and drinkables... in every nook and corner."[12] The *Index* article assured the public that the Diana was furnished in the most tasty [sic] and costly manner" and was optimistically looking forward to receiving "three thousand visitors."

Excursionists and correspondents traveling to Laramie City to document the westward press of empire were easy marks and fair game for prostitutes, and "greenhorn"

[7] Minutes of Laramie City Council, June 7, 1887.

[8] The occasional presence of respectable women in establishments such as the Keystone is consistent with the suspension of traditional social conventions and community integration common during the early formative days of many Western boom towns.

[9] *Frontier Index*, June 26, 1868.

[10] W. O. Owen, "Autobiography," 22, in W. O. Owen Papers, Accession No. 94, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.

[11] "Helping Build The Union Pacific Railroad," 2, in Cyrus Shores Papers, Folder 4, Paper No. 42, Western History Collection, Denver Public Library.

[12] *Frontier Index*, June 26, 1868.

objects of derision for the local male population. Many such correspondents were undoubtedly left with empty wallets and venereal disease as sad reminders of their adventures in the Wild West. In retaliation, one correspondent reported in his paper's columns that

> ...Vice stalks its [Laramie City's] streets in daylight and revels in numerous haunts of dissipation when night adds horror to heart-sickening scenes of debauchery and licentiousness. Laramie has more dance houses of the 'genus' vile than has Chicago. Every night these dens, which combine the occupations of rum-sellers, gamblers and harlots, are thrown open and are patronized. Gambling is carried on in full view of the streets, and the "tiger" is fought in every form from keno to faro to monte..[13]

The editor of the *Index* sneered at this article as the whining of a "brainless toothpick suckor [sic]" who got what he deserved after sampling Laramie's sinful pleasures and "treating 'fair and frail' girls to wine, whiskey and other beastly fodder."[14]

Early attempts to establish order through the creation of a town government met with the resignation of Mayor M. C. Brown after just three weeks. Brown stated in his letter of resignation that the town was ungovernable.[15] After a second provisional government was organized in September, 1868, a vigilance committee swept through the vice district. Several people were shot, several others hanged. The vigilantes loaded a number of local prostitutes on train cars and shipped them west.[16] The vigilantes enlisted the assistance of "Doc" Shores and his partner Gus the night of the raid. Shores and his companion were to stand guard across the Little Laramie river to capture any local thugs who tried to escape. Shores recalled:

> These Vigilance men...did the hanging over in town. I don't remember how many, but I think three or four. One was the keeper of the Diana Dance Hall, a thin, nervous, skinny, high strung fellow...A man had been found behind his bar beaten nearly to death...Another man had been found dead in a big box under his old dance hall. One man...told the men that they were hanging better men than he was, and he turned and went back over and into the crowd, and he was pushed on in and hung too. I saw...and heard all I wanted...of this job, and Gus and I went back to the Little Laramie."[17]

The effects of the vigilance committee were short-lived however, and soon the pleasure resorts of Laramie City were in rip-snorting full swing once again.

[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Mary Kay Mason, *Laramie--Gem City* (Dallas: Curtis Media Corp., 1987), 7.
[16] Ibid., 6.
[17] Cyrus Shores Papers, 6-7.

The Diana "sporting house," Isberg Collection, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.

Laramie City continued to grow and permanent brick "blocks" began to replace the tents and makeshift shacks in the business district. Toward the end of July 1868 Bull's Big Tent moved on, as did the *Frontier Index*. Arriving in Green River, Wyoming, in mid-August 1868, the *Index* reported that the "mammoth tent is now ready for such carryings on as you never did see."[18]

Bull's Big Tent and its soiled doves might have drifted on, but twenty-two year old Kate Boyd and twenty-seven year old Kate Allen shared a residence and did business as cottage prostitutes as Laramie City entered the bonanza phase of its development. Although these women were the only two clearly identified prostitutes in the 1870 Laramie City census, court dockets and newspaper reports provide evidence that numerous other prostitutes were also active in the town. The transient nature of these women's lives and the fact that many of them strove for a measure of acceptance and protection in the community by referring to themselves as "housekeepers" or "seamstresses" often make them difficult to identify from census records alone.

Life in the Tenderloin

By 1870 Laramie City had begun to take on the characteristics of a corporate town reliant on the Union Pacific Railroad as its primary industry. The first fully legal town government was chartered in 1873 and took office in January 1874. The new city council spared no time in drafting ordinances which gave authoritative backing to attempts by local law enforcement to impose order and control residents of the demimonde. Within a relatively short time, Laramie City's tenderloin district was largely contained within the area bounded on the west and east by Front and Third Streets, on the north by what is now University Avenue, and on the south by Custer Avenue. Boundaries delineating residential and business districts became more clearly defined as did settlement patterns which separated white and non-white residential areas. However, within Laramie's demimonde, racial integration was more the rule than the exception. White prostitutes Bridget Gallagher and Bessie Knight were both known to live and work in the "black" vice district on the west side of town.[19] Black prostitutes Susie Derrick, Annie Nelson and Myrtle Wright operated a sporting house at 603 First Street near the "white" vice district. Mulatto prostitutes Maria Summers, Kate Hart, Loesa Burton, and Fannie McManus also managed or worked in brothels in the white vice district.[20] Loesa Burton's twenty-one-year-old son John and nine-year-old daughter Estetta also lived in Loesa's brothel. Census records reveal that Estetta was the only resident of her mother's establishment who could read or write.[21]

As a member of a highly competitive occupational culture, a prostitute's status was contingent upon her age, race, appearance, level of education and sophistication, sexual skills and place of employment. Prostitutes could move up or down within the professional hierarchy, although advancing age and occupational hazards usually precipitated a downward spiral.

Parlor houses like "The Blonde's," operated by Laramie madam Christy Grover, or the brothels which lined Laramie's Front Street were staffed by higher status prostitutes. Women in these establishments provided more than sex. They dressed relatively well, possessed greater poise and social acumen than other prostitutes and sold companionship as well as sex. For a fee, which usually included the price of at least one bottle of wine or liquor, a man could purchase the illusion of romance and the thrill of flirtation before retiring to a bedroom for the main event.

Some lower status prostitutes, such as Ada Hart, operated from modest private dwellings. Often these women also worked as seamstresses, laundresses, or at other forms of menial labor and supplemented their earnings through prostitution. Pretty "waiter girls" and dance hall girls often were compelled to sell sexual services as a condition of their employment. It was not uncommon for their employer to confiscate a large percentage of their earnings.

Lowest in the hierarchy were crib prostitutes and street hustlers. Some had pimps, but most worked independently, providing sexual services to customers in the squalid tents, solitary rooms, or flimsy cribs where they lived. The poverty in which these women lived allowed them to exercise little discrimination with regard to the clients they accepted. Often lines would form outside their cribs or tents while they accommodated one man after the next, with each sexual encounter lasting only a few minutes.

As entrepreneurs interested in the profit margin, prostitutes were interested in efficient transactions and high customer turnover. Prostitutes sold sex, not love. If a man wanted the illusion of love he had to pay for it. The prostitute/client transaction involved money, drinks, sex and the man's departure in the shortest period of time possible.

[18] *Frontier Index*, August 18, 1868.
[19] *Laramie Daily Sentinel*, Sept. 12, 1871; *Laramie Weekly Sentinel*, Feb. 1, 1890.
[20] United States Census, Laramie City, Wyoming, 1880, 1900.
[21] United States Census, Laramie City, Wyoming, 1880.

Working in a brothel or parlor house provided prostitutes with a degree of protection from abuse by customers. However the security and shelter of a brothel had its price. Prostitutes in brothels and parlor houses had high overhead expenses and a significant portion of their earnings were paid to the madam.

From the money that she was able to earn or steal, a prostitute had to pay for housing, food, clothing, medical care, the liquor or drugs she desired for her personal use, and fines and fees imposed with discouraging regularity by the city and the courts. She also paid the required percentage of her earnings to the madam of the brothel, or, in some cases, to the pimp who managed her.

The financial records kept by Christy Grover clearly illustrate the kind of financial bondage which kept a woman immersed in prostitution.[22] Although Christy's records do not indicate how much each customer was charged, they do show the gross earnings of each prostitute for each day of the month. Records of the earnings of Mamie Hall show entries for the months of September and October, year unknown, in which Mamie's daily earnings never exceed $12.50 for any given day. Mamie was required to turn over all of her earnings to Christy, who then provided Mamie with spending money and other necessities. Mamie's total earnings for the period between September 22 and October 26 were $235. However, records for the period between September 22 and November 3 show that Mamie's indebtedness to Christy included charges for room and board totalling $10 per week. Other debts included charges for washing, towels, "tidies," personal hygiene supplies, clothing, lingerie, accessories, tickets, and unexplained "express" services. In addition, Mamie was making installment payments to Christy for a $100 watch, a $90 dress, a pair of diamond earrings which cost $275 and some bracelets valued at $75. During this period Christy allowed Mamie $22.40 for her personal use, but Mamie's total indebtedness to Christy during this time totalled $692.80, nearly three times the amount Mamie had earned in the corresponding period.

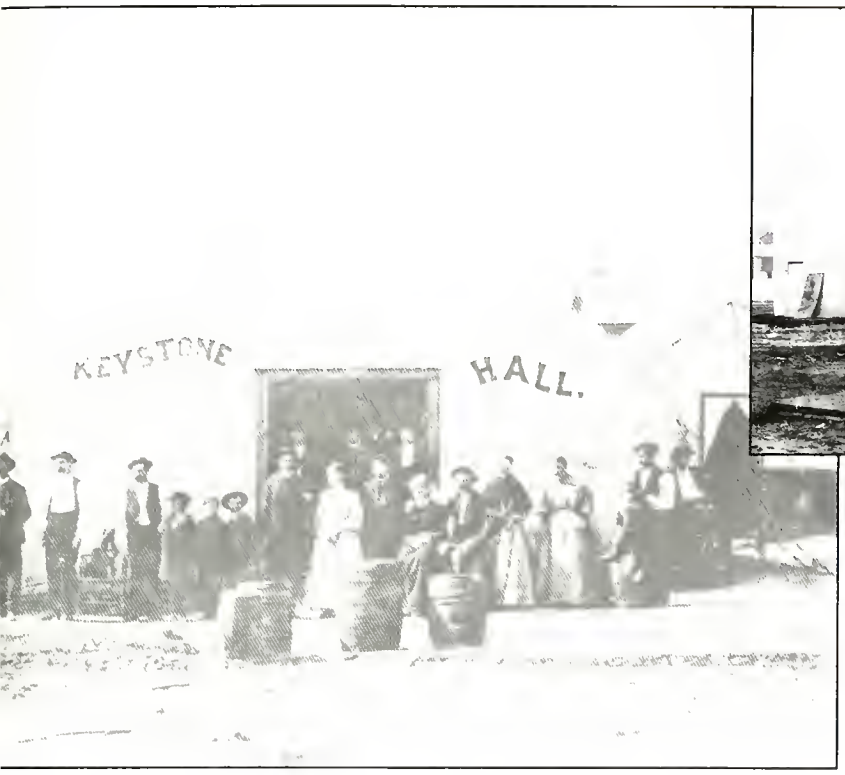
Although Laramie City had no true parlor houses, "The Blonde's," later known as "Grover's Institute" was the closest substitute. Christy Grover, who was also variously known as Chrissy Branch, Dollie Bailley, Christy Finlayson, and Puss Newport, met and married a former Laramie City grocer, John Grover in 1881.[23] Christy is believed to have been employed at Cheyenne's legendary "House of Mirrors" before coming to Laramie. Soon after arriving in Laramie, Christy built two houses on the site now occupied by Cafe Jacques and the Grand Avenue Newstand. The larger of the two structures served as the main brothel, while the smaller house was used primarily as Christy and John's residence.

Christy Grover's probate papers provide valuable information about the interior furnishings of "The Blonde's."[24] Silk chairs and lounges, marble top tables, chandeliers, fancy lamps, silver bric-a-brac, and an expensive piano graced the main parlor. Bedrooms were furnished with walnut and ebony furniture, carpets, fancy lamps, and mirrors. The Grovers also employed a full-time servant, an African-American man known as "Blue Dick," to perform the strong-arm work which was occasionally necessary. "Blue Dick" also ran errands for the residents of the brothel and their clients and worked as a general handyman around the property.[25]

Bills submitted against Christy's estate show that Christy had purchased $1017 of jewelry and luxury items for herself and two of her prostitutes from A. Helfferich, a Laramie jeweler.[26] The jewelry was custom made and although purchased on credit, Christy had already paid for most of it. Other bills show that Christy made regular purchases of lingerie, lace, fine fabrics and veiling, as well as expensive glass ware, French quilts, and wallpaper and carpeting to keep her houses well appointed. Her operation was successful enough to allow her to carry fire insurance on both houses from the Home Insurance Company of New York City. Her account at Trabing's Grocery Store for a three month period shows regular purchases of fine wines and liquors in addition to many expensive delicacies such as eels. Christy died in 1882 leaving an estate valued at $6,246.25.

The quality of life of a middle-status cottage prostitute like Ada Hart was quite different from the comparative luxury enjoyed by Christy Grover. Ada "Crazy Jane" Hart chose to distance herself from her profession at the age of twenty one. She walked into a Laramie saloon, announced she was going to kill herself, and washed down the contents of a two ounce vial of laudanum with a glass of whiskey.[27] Doctor Harris was summoned, but his ministrations were unsuccessful. Various friends stopped by the cottage at-

[22] Case #59, Albany County Probate Court.
[23] *Laramie Weekly Sentinel*, Feb. 25, 1882. Certificate of marriage issued to John A. Grover and Christy Finlayson in Denver, Colo., Sept. 17, 1881.
[24] Case #59, Albany County Probate Court.
[25] *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, June 1, 2, 1886.
[26] Case #59, Albany County Probate Court.
[27] Coroner's Inquest on the body of Ada Hart, June 17, 1874. Albany County Coroner's Records, Wyoming State Archives, Cheyenne.



Keystone Hall, Laramie (left). First office of the Laramie Boomerang (inset, above). Both photographs from the American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming

tempting to assist Ada, but they left when a male "caller" arrived. Ada died on the floor of her cottage after her "caller" left her lying there and went downtown to have breakfast.[28]

At the time of Ada Hart's death, her estate was valued at $356.25. Her small house, valued at $150, contained little more than a bed and washstand, bureau, linens, a lamp and a few straight back chairs and a photo album. Her only luxury items were two volumes of Milton and Wordsworth, a few pieces of cheap jewelry, and a set of furs valued at $5.[29] Ada Hart's entire estate was only worth a few dollars more than what Christy Grover spent for food and liquor over a three-month period.

Given the harsh economic conditions of their lives it is little wonder that prostitutes supplemented their incomes by stealing from customers and from each other. Prostitutes stole not only money, but also items of cheap finery and items directly connected to the demands of their occupation such as bedding, linens and pillows. On Nov. 20, 1874, Annie Ferguson appeared in Justice Court accusing Lula Hoke of taking sheets, pillow cases, a bed spread and towels - all essential items to a prostitute. Lula was acquitted and "One-Armed Annie" had to pay $19.25 in court costs for malicious prosecution.[30]

Minetta Williams appears repeatedly in the court dockets of Laramie City, charged with stealing a vast array of items over the period of a few weeks. Minetta arrived in Laramie in the early 1870's as a "respectable" woman, the wife of the town's new physician. Within a few months, after discovering that Minetta was suffering from tuberculosis, Dr. Williams quickly left Laramie City, abandoning Minetta and leaving her penniless.[31] Minetta turned to prostitution to survive, and supplemented her earnings through theft. She died alone and destitute in an upstairs room on Second Street in 1878.[32]

Sometimes the courts were less lenient and exacted more than a simple fine for prostitute's thefts. When Laramie prostitutes Molly Wrisinger and Belle Jones, a mother of six children, stole a quantity of household goods from Cassius Webber, a familiar figure in Laramie's tenderloin, they were sentenced to terms at the Wyoming Territorial Penitentiary.[33] Five of Belle's children were placed in a Denver orphanage. Belle's fifteen-year-old daughter Ella was charged with "delinquency" and sent to the Home of the Good Shepherd in Denver. The nature of Ella's delinquency was unspecified, but it is quite likely

[28] Coroner's Inquest on the body of Ada Hart, June 17, 1874.
[29] Case #15, Albany County Probate Court.
[30] Justice Docket, Laramie City, Nov. 20, 1874.
[31] Criminal Case File #186, Albany County District Court.
[32] *Laramie Daily Sentinel*, Nov. 23, 1878.
[33] Criminal Case Files #10 and #11, Aug. 22, 1891, Albany County District Court.

that she, like many other daughters of prostitutes had begun her journey into the demimonde.

Prostitutes vied with one another for customers and located themselves in areas which provided the greatest potential for profitability. Often Laramie City prostitutes traveled to Cheyenne or Denver's notorious Market Street district when events such as an ending cattle drive would increase the male population of a town and provide a lucrative opportunity for the enterprising prostitute. Prostitutes also moved from town to town to avoid legal problems or to escape some other dangerous or undesirable situation.

Although prostitutes' financial security was inextricably linked to the men who patronized them, prostitutes often regarded their customers with loathing and contempt. Such contempt could fuel episodes of violence. At other times, attempts by customers to refuse payment or to otherwise abuse prostitutes resulted in violent exchanges. Thomas Dillon, a notorious Laramie ne'er-do-well, appeared in Laramie City's Justice Court in 1875 complaining that he feared that Mary Brady, owner of a brothel ranch on the Big Laramie River, would "kill and murder him and burn his house down."[34]

The *Laramie Weekly Sentinel* of January 17, 1880, reported that "Cora Cooper, a fast woman, well known in Laramie, shot a musician named Cobb...on Sunday night last, hitting him in the wrist and thigh. Both will live to shoot again."

In early summer, 1886, a large crowd of cowboys arrived in Laramie. They had been out on a horse round-up and had not been to town for quite some time. The *Laramie Daily Boomerang* reported that "their jingling spurs made music everywhere...and...their horses were clustered about in front of some public resort."[35] The "public resort" was Della Briggs' Cheyenne House, an upscale Laramie bordello located at 317 Kearney, where Della, Nettie Butler, Frankie Sage, Lulu Bell and Jennie Smith welcomed "gentlemen callers" for nearly a decade.[36] Later that evening Laramie police officer Jack Sharp was summoned to the Cheyenne House to quell a disturbance. Instead of being escorted to the scene of the conflict, Sharp was shown to a side room where he waited for someone to come and explain the trouble. Suddenly Della appeared in the doorway and, without a word, drew a bead on Sharp with a .45 caliber revolver, apparently intending to drop him where he stood. Sharp lunged for Della and threw her to the floor, disarming her. Della was taken to jail, charged with attempted murder, and released after posting bail in the amount of $500.[37] The final disposition of the case is unknown and Della's motive for the attack was never revealed. Within a few months of the incident, Della was back in business at the same address.

Physical and psychological mayhem was a fact of life for frontier prostitutes, and in the struggle to survive, they responded in kind to those who posed a threat to their personal safety and property. The fierce competition among prostitutes engendered hostility, suspicion and jealousies which undermined the development of stable, rewarding friendships and bonds of unity. Life in the tenderloin offered few comforts and little hope for the women who worked and lived in the social margins of Laramie City.

Friends and Enemies

Despite her existence within a community of women, the life of a prostitute was largely devoid of friendship and the bonds of trust and solidarity which friendship implies. Although some friendships did occur between prostitutes, these relationships were usually tenuous and were often sabotaged by the perpetually shifting patterns of alliance and enmity within the demimonde. It was during times of crisis such as the illness, injury or death of a sister prostitute that the women of the demimonde displayed the greatest solidarity. Their many acts of generosity and kindness to their fallen sisters belied the violence and cruel ruthlessness that characterized many of their daily interactions with one another.

Laramie prostitutes Lizzie Stevens (Pawnee Liz) and Nettie Wright almost always had an extremely young girl under their tutelage. Julia Coyle and Emma Christie were both in their early teens at the time of their association with Liz.[38] Nettie Wright spared no expense in providing a lavish funeral for her seventeen-year-old protege Bell Verdon after Bell's sudden demise.[39]

Lower status prostitutes Lizzie Palmer and Maggie Reed brought food and wine and attempted to ease the final

[34] Justice Docket, Albany County, Feb. 22, 1875.

[35] *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, June 5, 1886.

[36] *Laramie City Directory*, 1892. Della was an associate of John and Monte Grover's before going into business for herself. She became rather civic-minded in the early 1890s, petitioning for the installation of a sewer pipe in the alley between Custer and Kearney streets. She also pressed for improvements to the cemetery. After 1893 she vanished from the public record. See Minutes, Laramie City Council, July 21, 1891, and Sept. 5, 1893.

[37] Criminal Case File #291, June 8, 1886, Albany County District Court.

[38] *Laramie Daily Sentinel*, March 7, 16, 1877; Justice Docket #946, Albany County.

[39] Register of Burials for Cheyenne Cemetery, 1875-1932, April 24, 1876.

hours of their long-time companion Sallie Thixton, a down and out alcoholic prostitute with whom they traveled the Cheyenne/Laramie circuit.[40] Sallie died in a room above Patrick Doran's Shamrock Saloon across from the Union Pacific railyard. Her death was attributed to intemperance and exposure.[41]

Emma Christie flounced through the street life of the Laramie tenderloin, engaging in the usual share of fist fights, public displays and court appearances. Prior to fall, 1877, she forged a friendship with another young prostitute, Fannie Burgess, and the two struck out for Cheyenne to try their luck. While working as a cottage prostitute, Emma fell in love with a bartender named George. Spurned by the object of her affections, Emma consumed a large dose of morphine on the day following her twentieth birthday.[42] Fannie returned to the cottage to find Emma on the verge of death. Emma died in Fannie's arms a few minutes later, leaving a note which read

> My Dear Little Partner, Fannie:
>
> Do forgive me if ever I have harmed you. You know that I die because I cannot have the man I love...and good bye for me, and I forgive all that has ever harmed me, except them that stole my darling from me. Tell him I loved him to the last. Don't forget to send that telegram to my mother. Don't tell her I am dead...Kiss Cora for me. Try and have me buried.[43]

Emma died a pauper, but unlike many of her colleagues in the "lost sisterhood," she did not go to an unmarked grave in the Potter's Field of a Cheyenne cemetery. Billy Chamberlain, one of the Cheyenne saloon crowd, took it upon himself to raise money to pay for a proper funeral for Emma.[44] Numerous contributors in the demimonde added enough dollars to the fund to provide Emma with a nice coffin and a marker inscribed with the words

> Sacred to the memory of
> Miss Emma Christy
> Born Sept. 5, 1857
> Died Sept 6, 1877
> Aged 20 Years and 1 Day
> God Rest Her Soul[45]

Soon after Emma's death, the inconsolable Fannie attempted to take her own life. It was reported that she had made an oath over Emma's body that she would follow Emma within a week.[46] Fannie's suicide attempt was unsuccessful due to the watchfulness and intervention of other prostitutes.[47]

Many violent episodes between prostitutes erupted as the result of some trivial provocation and reflected the contempt that prostitutes felt for themselves and for one another. A few days prior to Thanksgiving, 1877, Fannie Smith petitioned the court for protection because prostitute Susan Stone had threatened to cut her throat and kill her.[48] A trial date was set for February, but charges were later dismissed. Fannie, fearing for her life, had fled the county and could not be located.

During August, 1877, a long-standing enmity between black prostitutes Ann Johnson and Susan Stone finally reached the breaking point. Susan accused Ann of stealing her pillows. Ann flew into a rage and viciously beat Susan with a curling iron, nearly killing her.[49] Ann fled to Rawlins after the attack, but was captured by Sheriff Nottage and returned to Laramie to await trial. A newspaper reporter who had written a humorous article about the incident wandered into the jail hoping for further details on the progress of the case. He encountered Ann who was scrubbing the floor in the cell block. Ann confronted him about the article, which she considered insulting, and then assaulted him with a fire shovel.[50]

Shortly after being charged with the theft of some items belonging to Laramie City prostitute Emma Halbing, "One Armed Annie" Ferguson moved to Cheyenne to work in the brothel of former Laramie madam Kate Sage. Within a few days after her arrival, Annie incurred the wrath of another prostitute, Fanny Brown, who gave Annie a savage beating. When Kate went to Annie's room to check on her she found Annie in bed with her face covered with blood. Annie told Kate, "Fanny Brown gave me the beating. I am hurt inside and think I will die soon."[51]

Annie lingered for three more days in a state of agony, attempting to alleviate her pain through the use of morphine and alcohol. In spite of her perilous condition, the economic necessities of Annie's life dictated that she could

[40] Civil and Criminal Docket, Laramie County District Court, Jan. 23, 1872, and March 26, 1872; Coroner's Inquest on the Body of Sallie Thaxton, July 21, 1881.
[41] Coroner's Inquest on the Body of Sallie Thaxton.
[42] *Cheyenne Daily Sun*, Sept. 7, 1877.
[43] *Cheyenne Daily Sun*, Sept. 7, 1877.
[44] *Cheyenne Daily Sun*, Sept. 8, 1877.
[45] *Cheyenne Daily Sun*, Sept. 14, 1877.
[46] *Cheyenne Daily Sun*, Sept. 13, 1877.
[47] *Laramie Daily Sentinel*, Sept. 14, 1877.
[48] Criminal Case #318, Nov. 23, 1877, Albany County District Court.
[49] Docket #85, Aug. 30, 1877, Albany County District Court.
[50] *Laramie Daily Sentinel*, Sept. 1, 20, 1877.
[51] *Cheyenne Daily Sun*, April 10, 1877.

not turn away clients. Battered and bleeding internally, Annie received a "caller" and took him to her room. The next morning a resident of the brothel found Annie dead in her bed, with the drunken "caller" lying by her side, unaware that Annie had died during the night.[52] Fannie Brown was briefly held in jail, but was released after the coroner's jury attributed Annie's death to alcohol and opiate poisoning. Of course, the identity of the "caller" was protected by the press to spare him any embarrassment in the matter. The disposition of the case stands as another sad example of the devaluation of the life of a "fallen woman." The tenderloin offered prostitutes little more than a life of misery, despair, danger and hopelessness.

Pimps and Lovers

Until the turn of the century, prostitution networks in Laramie City, as in other towns, were controlled by women. Although pimps were present in the Laramie City tenderloin, their role was not so much managerial as it was that of parasitic hangers-on, idle men who lived by the sexual labor of the women with whom they formed attachments. Many pimps were ruthless and cruel, battering and abusing the women who provided their livelihood, stealing their belongings, and robbing them of their earnings. Some prostitutes turned to pimps in an attempt to find protection from abuses by customers, others sought affection, or believed that an alliance with a pimp would provide greater financial security. In almost every case they were disappointed.

Felix Monroe supplemented his earnings from the Union Pacific Railroad by operating a road house and a row of squalid cribs in West Laramie where both black and white lower status prostitutes plied their trade.[53] In 1881 Monroe and another man created quite a sensation in Laramie by engaging in a pitched gun battle over the affections of a black prostitute.[54]

C. G. Masterson, a laborer for the Union Pacific Railroad, was sentenced to a term at the Wyoming Territorial Penitentiary after being convicted in the attempted murder and brutal knife slashing of his young wife.[55] Masterson married again after his release from prison, but his new bride soon left him and found solace in the arms of a young man working in the tie camp at Tie Siding, south of Laramie City. Masterson's relentless attempts to reclaim his bride incurred the wrath of the men in the camp who attempted to lynch him. A man named Freel intervened, cutting Masterson down and warning him to run for his life, which he did amid a hail of bullets from the disgruntled tie hacks.[56]

Christy Glover's grave, Greenhill Cemetery. Richard Collier photograph.

Masterson later formed an alliance with Laramie City prostitute Georgie Lightheart with whom he had a child.[57] Soon after the birth of their child Masterson was jailed following a bungled forgery attempt. He might have succeeded if he could have remembered to disguise his handwriting.[58] While awaiting trial in the Laramie jail, Masterson made the acquaintance of the widow Ellen Card, who was also incarcerated and charged with stealing "one head of neat cattle" from Wyoming cattleman and political figure Joseph M. Carey.[59] The widow Card planned a daring jailbreak using Masterson and Georgie Lightheart as her accomplices. By surreptitiously passing notes to Masterson, she persuaded him to have Georgie smuggle a club into the jail to Charles Henry, a male prisoner.[60]

On the night of the jail break, Henry enticed the jailer into a cell, clubbed him into unconsciousness, and released the widow Card and all the other male prisoners. An alarm was soon raised and an armed posse of Laramie citizens raced after the escapees. Never known for his good fortune, Masterson soon found himself pursued by a man named Spencer. Nearly out of breath, Masterson attempted to gain time by shouting over his shoulder to Spencer, "Where's the fire?" Undeceived by the ploy, Spencer leveled his gun at Masterson and replied, "You had better stop and throw up your hands, or I'll show you where the fire is!"[61]

Of the seven who fled the jail that night only two were captured - a Henry Hunt and Masterson, who had kept the incriminating notes detailing the escape plans in his shirt

[52] Ibid.
[53] *Laramie Weekly Sentinel*, Feb. 1, 1890.
[54] *Laramie Weekly Sentinel*, Dec. 3, 1881.
[55] Criminal Case #164, Feb. 17, 1874, Albany County District Court.
[56] *Laramie Daily Sentinel*, Feb. 15, 1876.
[57] Board of Charities and Reform, *Convict Register of Wyoming Territorial Prison*, Laramie, Aug. 24, 1877, 148.
[58] *Laramie Daily Sentinel*, April 14, 1877.
[59] *Laramie Daily Sentinel*, Feb. 15, 1876.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.

pocket.[62] Masterson again took up residence in the Territorial Penitentiary. The daring widow Card disappeared into the night and was not heard from again.

John Grover lived well on the income from Christy Grover's brothel. As the sole heir to her estate at the time of her death, the money he inherited enabled him to dabble in real estate and purchase a saloon. Many in Laramie were uneasy about the circumstances surrounding Christy's suicide, which occurred just six months after she married Grover. Returning from an afternoon spent drinking and playing billiards at the Laramie Brewery, Christy reportedly argued with Monte Arlington, one of her prostitutes, regarding some clothes that another prostitute had supposedly stolen. As soon as Monte left the room, Christy allegedly picked up a pistol which had been lying on the window sill and shot herself through the head.[63]

There were no witnesses to the incident and Grover was widely suspected of murdering Christy. The coroner's inquest, relying almost entirely on testimony given by Grover, ruled Christy's death a suicide.[64] J. H. Hayford, editor of the *Laramie Weekly Sentinel*, had nothing detrimental to say about Grover's role in the incident, but did not hesitate to castigate Christy, writing

> ...There is little use to which such wrecks upon the shore of time can be put, except to serve as beacon lights to warn other voyagers of the rock and shoals. We have no knowledge of the past life and history of this woman, but it is not probable she had kind, loving, judicious, Christian parents and was brought up under good and wise training. It is not our prerogative to judge her. She has lived a life of vice and crime leaving the trail of the serpent wherever she went, sowing the seeds of death and dragging others down with her, and such a death is a fitting end to such a life.[65]

After Christy's death Grover quickly married Monte Arlington, and together they continued to operate the brothel which was now commonly referred to as "Grover's Institute." Grover's marriage to Monte lasted until 1895. In the fall of that year Monte began to refuse food, claiming that someone was attempting to poison her. Monte's aversion to food intensified, and in November she died.[66] Again, though many were suspicious of Grover's role in the matter, the conclusions of the Coroner's Jury were again based substantially on Grover's testimony. The coroner's jury attributed Monte's death to "starvation caused by insanity."[67] Although Christy Grover's grave in Laramie's Greenhill Cemetery is marked with a large attractive monument, Grover could not be troubled to part with any of his ill-gotten gains for Monte. She lies next to Christy in an unmarked grave, shunned and forgotten.[68]

Within days after Monte's funeral, the city council demonstrated their contempt for Grover by insisting that he remove "Grover's Institute" from it's location on South B (Grand Avenue) to either Front Street or to an area more remote from the general business district. They informed Grover that refusal to comply would result in his being arrested and fined on a daily basis.[69] Bested but not beaten, Grover relocated at 311 Front Street. Shortly after the turn of the century Grover rented his Front Street property to long-time Laramie madam Minnie Ford and moved to California. Grover's health began to fail soon after he arrived in Los Angeles. In 1911, ill and unable to care for himself, Grover rigged a shotgun to the foot of his bed and took his own life.[70]

In their liasons with pimps and lovers, prostitutes seldom experienced the love and supportive mutuality which characterize more functional relationships. It was far more likely that a prostitute's relationship with a pimp would result in a downward progression within the profession which, as the ravages of time and the hazards of the tenderloin took their toll, usually ended in destitution or death.

The City Coffers and Working Girls' Dollars

Laramie continued to grow and prosper. The Union Pacific Railroad was joined by other industries as well as by the University of Wyoming in creating an economic base for the town. Residential districts were increasingly defined by the socio-economic status of their inhabitants. Business in the tenderloin district continued unabated, but laws controlling saloons and gambling establishments were more stringently enforced to ensure that owners paid

[62] Ibid.
[63] Coroner's Inquest on the Body of Mrs. J. A. Grover, Feb. 20, 1882.
[64] Ibid.
[65] *Laramie Weekly Sentinel*, Feb. 25, 1882.
[66] Coroner's Inquest on the Body of Monte Arlington Grover, November 1885.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Greenhill Cemetery records list Monte's gravesite as Old U, 33, N. W. 4.
[69] Minutes, Laramie City Council, Nov. 5, 1895.
[70] Case #560, April 18, 1914, Albany County Probate Court.

their licensing fees.[71] Monthly "fines" collected from prostitutes on the first of each month by the town marshal had increased from $10 to $18.[72] Revenue generated through the collection of licensing fees and fining prostitutes represented a substantial contribution to the city coffers. While frequent attempts were made to control, exploit and isolate prostitutes within Laramie City's demimonde, their sizeable economic contribution to the community served as a mitigating influence, discouraging any significant effort to drive them from the town.

Various church and civic groups attempted from time to time to rid Laramie City of prostitutes and to force Sunday closures of the saloons and gambling dens.[73] Such efforts generated lively debates, but seldom were successful in realizing their objectives. On December 6, 1885, a citizens' group petitioned the city council to order the removal of all houses of prostitution to the regions outside the city limits. Reluctant to take such action, the council debate ended when Councilman Chaplin moved that laws on houses of prostitution be enforced as written. Chaplin's motion failed to garner a second and the matter was dropped.[74]

In May 1896, Mayor Brown instructed the marshal to stop collecting the monthly $18 fine from the city's prostitutes and to deal with prostitutes on a case by case basis for public intoxication, disorderly conduct and other misdemeanors.[75] Mayor Brown justified this action by stating to the council that, "When you undertake, for the purpose of revenue, to license this sort of business...you are making every man, woman, and child in the city partners in their nefarious business."[76] Brown explained that prostitution could be better controlled by enforcing ordinances, stating,

> There are two ways in which this ordinance can be enforced. One by fining these people every day - because they are guilty every day - enforcing the ordinance in that way by arresting them every day until they are driven out of the community entirely. Another method would be to fine them whenever they in any way get to be unruly...whenever they do anything improper outside of their peculiar business - if it can be called by that name - they should be punished by the full limit of the ordinance.[77]

The hue and cry raised by other council members and the local citizenry over the loss of this revenue was tempestuous. An indignant article in the *Laramie Daily Boomerang* on May 20, 1896, blustered that "abolishment of these fines, which have been a source of revenue to the city and assisted some in reducing taxes, as well as restraining temptation, cannot be explained upon any hypothesis consistent with...'economy.'"[78]

At a subsequent council meeting in July during Mayor Brown's absence, Acting Mayor Lohlein overrode Brown, stating he would instruct the marshal to resume collecting the $18 fines.[79] The *Laramie Daily Boomerang* reported that "over $200 was collected during the past month from this source [fining prostitutes], and it is a serious question if the administration would not be bankrupt today if they had not collected the fines for the past year."[80]

Councilman Jones was reported as gloomily implying that as a result of the loss of monthly revenue from prostitutes, "it looked as though the city would run short of money before taxes were collected...".[81]

It is hardly surprising therefore that civic movements to drive prostitutes from the city met with little support from the administration. It is clear that the profitability of the red light district influenced public attitudes and political decisions which tacitly condoned the existence of prostitution in Laramie City, Wyoming. Publicly contemptuous of the very institution they insidiously fostered, city officials were indirectly coopted into a supporting role in the economy of Laramie City's demimonde. Careful to endorse social constraints and implicit boundaries which marginalized and controlled members of the demimonde, city officials avoided acknowledging their own complicity in the perpetuation of prostitution in Laramie City.

EPILOGUE

The tinkle of the hurdy-gurdy and the cry of the Keno dealer drifted away on the wild Wyoming winds which swept across the Laramie Plains, but the "ladies of the line" did not vanish from Laramie's tenderloin district for many years to come. Soiled doves and fallen angels waited to welcome "callers" in the upstairs rooms and "boarding houses" of the tenderloin, knowing that for most of them life would never offer more than this. Drifters on the crest

[71] Minutes, Laramie City Council, Dec. 6, 1889.
[72] Minutes, Laramie City Council, June 6, 1896, July 7, 1896.
[73] Minutes, Laramie City Council, Nov. 5, 1895.
[74] Minutes, Laramie City Council, Dec. 6, 1885.
[75] Minutes, Laramie City Council, May 19, 1896.
[76] *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, June 17, 1896.
[77] *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, Nov. 22, 1896.
[78] *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, May 20, 1896.
[79] *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, July 7, 1896; July 8, 1896.
[80] *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, July 8, 1896.
[81] Ibid.

of westward expansion, the prostitutes of Laramie City added their stories to the anecdotal heritage of the West. Our legacy from these women is far greater than a collection of colorful tales that have been incorporated into our folklore. The story of the American West cannot be fully understood until we are able to understand the cultural significance of the social, political and economic struggles of the prostitutes who lived and worked in Laramie City and countless towns throughout the West.

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Frank Powell (left) with Julia and "Buffalo Bill" Cody

DOCTOR, LAWYER, INDIAN CHIEF:

THE LIFE OF FRANK POWELL, MEDICINE MAN

BY ERIC V. SORG

When reading, or hearing, anything about Dr. David Franklin "The Surgeon Scout," "Fancy Frank," "Mighty Medicine Man," "White Beaver," Powell, Medicine Chief of the Winnebago, an observation attributed to a North Platte newspaper in 1898, should be kept in mind: "Colonel Cody ought to lasso Major Powell and place him on exhibition in his side show as the biggest liar God ever let live."[1] Frank Powell was a renowned marksman and physician, a powerful Wisconsin Populist leader, and Bill Cody's best friend and, at one point, even his attorney.

It has been handed down by the popular press that David Franklin Powell entered the world's stage on May 25, 1847, in Kentucky somewhere near the Kentucky River, not far from the Tennessee border. His brother George was born in 1848, and William was born a year later in 1849. Their Scottish father, Dr. C.H. Powell, met their mother, Fannie Tompkins, while she and her father, the son of a Seneca shaman, were on a hunting expedition. C.H. Powell was evidently taken with Fannie Tompkins who he married before her sixteenth birthday.[2]

Shortly after C. H. died in 1855, Frank, who was eight, and the rest of the Powells moved to a farm thirty miles outside of Ithaca, New York, to stay with Fannie's elderly parents briefly before heading west where Frank became known far and wide as "The Boy Doctor" because of his skill in medicines and surgery. The Surgeon Scout, as western frontiersmen later called him, found adventure and honor in the frontier military.

Most of the accounts of Frank Powell's first three decades follow the above scenario. Unfortunately, much of it was fabricated by Powell, Buffalo Bill, J.W. Buel and Prentiss Ingraham. Powell's early life, in reality, followed a less spectacular outline that included a failed marriage, a dissolute late adolescence, and a ruined military career. In one of the few letters extant to or from Powell he mentions his tough childhood in Bethel, New York, and alludes to his family's struggle to survive.[3] After the death of his father, Frank dropped out of grade school to become the male head of the household. Like his future "blood brother" Bill Cody, Frank Powell became an adult without first being allowed his childhood, and he found work in a Bethel pharmacy to support his family. At times, all of the Powell brothers worked as pharmacists, though Frank is the only one who peddled patent medicine nostrums. The Powell boys all developed an extensive knowledge of drugs and herbs, and in his later life Frank "took a perfect delight in writing prescriptions with some catch in them, such as discarded names and symbols."[4]

Starting in 1865, Frank studied for two years to be a druggist under F.A. Bryan at 33 Dearborn Street in Chicago and by 1867, Frank had reached Omaha. George and the rest of the Powell clan soon followed.[5]

In Omaha, Frank worked for James K. Ish's drug company. The La Crosse City Directory of 1885-6 states: "As a very young man he [Powell] was a partner in the firm of Ish & Powell, Druggist, of Omaha, Neb." This entry, like many of the historic entries about Powell, could have been written by him, a great self-promoter. The 1868 and 1870 Omaha City Directories list him as only a clerk for Ish.

On November 13, 1870, Buffalo Bill Cody made his first trip to Omaha, and being unfamiliar with the city the famous scout needed to hire a guide to show him around town.[6] Perhaps the guide was Frank Powell, or introduced Frank to Bill, who was interested in becoming a Mason.

[1] NellieYost, *Buffalo Bill: His Life, Times and Adventures* (Chicago: Swallow Press, 1979), 278.

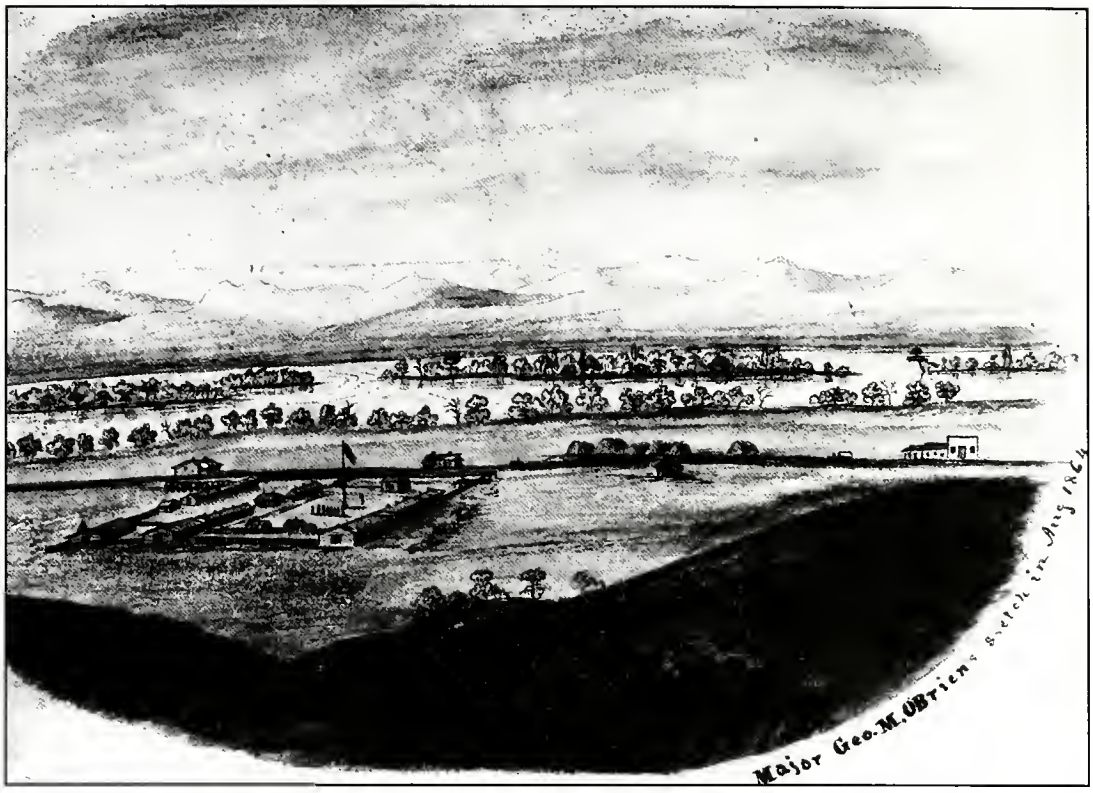
[2] *Soldiers' and Citizens' Album of Biographical Records* (Chicago: Grand Army Publishing, 1890), 611; James William Buel, *Heroes of the Plains* (New York: Historical Publishing Co., 1884), 536-537; *La Crosse Tribune*, Nov. 14, 1926.

[3] Powell Indian Wars Military Record, National Archives. Birthplace in Sullivan County, New York, also is noted in Prentiss Ingraham, *White Beaver: The Indian Medicine Chief* (New York: Beadle and Adams, 1884), and in the personal recollections of H. W. Thurston in the American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming. All of the other biographical sketches of Powell reinforce the Powell origins first published in Buel's *Heroes*. George Powell's marriage certificate in the Merrick County's clerk's office lists his father's name as William H. Powell and the place of birth as New York. The census records further confuse the Powells' origins - Frank consistently maintained that he was born in Kentucky and George was just as consistent that he was born in New York. William switched between New York and Kentucky. It is unfortunate that no personal letters of the Powell brothers have come to light. The popular press hints at childhood reasons behind Frank and George's sibling rivalry and occasionally a squabble explodes in local newspapers, but no hard documents have appeared to elaborate on their feud.

[4] Mrs. C. S. Van Auken, *La Crosse Tribune*, Nov. 14, 1926. Mrs. Van Auken's father worked for Dr. D.F. Powell as his chief pharmacist and her husband was a close political supporter of Powell's.

[5] Albert Johannsen, *The House of Beadle and Adams and its Dime and Nickel Novels* vol. II (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950), 228-229; *Omaha City Directories of 1868 & 1870*; *Weekly Wisconsin Labor Advocate*, Feb. 18, 1887. F.W. Bryan, the son F.A. Bryan, visited Powell in La Crosse. Internal evidence in Powell's speeches indicate that he started the medical profession, which included the drug trade, in 1865. If the Powell family lived in New York, it would be natural for them not to move until after the Civil War.

[6] *Omaha Daily Herald*, Nov. 13, 1870.



Fort Cottonwood, Nebraska Territory, 1864.
Nebraska State Historical Society photograph

Though the records are sketchy and contradictory, Frank Powell, a 33rd degree Mason, might have started instructing brother Masons in Nebraska and Wyoming on the Masonic rites and met Bill Cody as early as November 15, 1869, when Bill helped found Platte Valley Lodge No. 32 A.F. and A.M.[7] Though there is no hard documentation to back up the claim that Powell made Cody a Master Mason, Frank was certainly present on January 10, 1871, when Cody became a Master Mason, because on that day they celebrated the event with a buffalo hunt.[8]

By this point, Powell had purchased the Eagle Island Ranch near Lone Tree (now Central City), Nebraska. There, Powell's wife made quite an impression on the many travelers. The great [?] grandfather of Mr. W.H. Stevenson wrote that Mrs. Powell "was a lady of more than ordinary ability, tall and stately with natural grace, she was a queen among women." At Eagle Island, the Powells are supposed to have met, among other notable characters, Dr. Joseph B. Brown, medical director for the Department of the Platte.[9]

Frank Powell won a competitive scholarship to the Louisville Medical College and studied medicine there from 1871, until his graduation in the spring of 1873. Powell appears on the list of faculty members as a janitor in the 1872 and 1873 graduation programs. The term "janitor" at the Louisville Medical College designated that they were the persons responsible for getting the cadavers to study, and medical students and professors sometimes stole corpses for dissection.[10]

The multi-faceted faculty expanded on Powell's vast knowledge of drugs and herbs building the foundation of

[7] Yost, *Buffalo Bill*, 40. Popular articles about Powell credit him with being the Deputy Grand Master for Nebraska, Wyoming, and Colorado, however Mr. B. Lain Alexander, the Masonic historian for that area, wrote to the author on Oct. 28, 1992, that there was no record of Powell holding that position. There are contemporary reprints of a *Laramie Sentinel* article from the 1860s or 70s that stated that Powell was in Laramie instructing Masons on Masonic rites and rituals.

[8] *Omaha Weekly Herald*, Jan. 11, 1871.

[9] Fragment of a manuscript, Murphy Library, La Crosse, Wisconsin.

[10] Letter, Colleen Schiavone to author, Dec. 14, 1992; Dwayne Cox, *History of the University of Louisville* (Louisville: University of Louisville Archives, 1992), 1-2. According to Dr. Schiavone, rivalries existed between doctors following different methodologies and duels were not uncommon. Ms. Cheryl Redmon, Louisville, agreed that it was common for individuals to get a M.D. without having attended grade school, and that it was not uncommon for a person to attend six weeks out of a four-month term and graduate. Interview, Feb. 11, 1993. For other details about the medical establishment of Powell's era see: James Harvey Young, *Toadstool Millionaires* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 157-159; Eric Jameson, *The Natural History of Quackery* (London: Michael Joseph, 1961), 174.

his eclectic approach to healing. Dr. Powell graduated from the Louisville Medical College February 28, 1873. He received honorary mention for his thesis and delivered the valedictory speech.[11]

Dr. Powell started practicing medicine immediately. According to the Fort McPherson post returns, Acting Assistant Surgeon Powell started his military contract at Buffalo Bill's home base on March 20, 1873. That summer Acting Assistant Surgeon Thomas Maghee spent the summer at Fort McPherson where he first met Dr. Powell. Dr. Maghee wrote, "Got good quarters already furnished board with Dr. D.F. Powell. I like him very much only he teases his wife too much.... I will attend sick call this morning as Dr. Powell has gone to N[orth] P[lattel." Within a few days, however, Maghee had changed his mind: "Buffalo Bill & Texas Jack have been here and are now on a Buffalo hunt on the Republican. Dr. Powell is with them I don't think very much of him."[12]

Dr. Maghee's reference to Frank Powell teasing his wife is significant. Like much of Powell's early life, his first marriage has been a mystery. One story has it that Powell came back from a scout to find his first wife in the midst of a physical relationship with an officer who Powell promptly shot, and then, like a true dime novel hero, Frank fled to became an outlaw for a couple of years. A friend of Powell's stated that Frank "put an end to his rival," and Buffalo Bill wrote that a Captain Hyena kidnapped and probably murdered Janette Joslyn, Powell's literary "woman/child bride."[13] The actual story of Frank's first marriage is hidden by these fabrications. Contract surgeons in the frontier military had less authority than second lieutenants. Advancement in the military medical corps was limited by a hiring freeze on the staff medical corps effective October 6, 1873.[14] Even after the government lifted the hiring freeze, advancement remained constrained by an Act of Congress approved on June 23, 1874. The freeze did not stop Dr. Powell from immediately gathering letters of recommendation so that he could be tested by the Board of Medical Examiners for a commission in the regular military medical corps. He submitted his credentials to them on April 1, 1873.[15]

The plodding pace of government bureaucracy did not suit ambitious Dr. Powell, and he sent a follow-up letter concerning his application to Secretary of War William Belknap. Powell's letter is a little sharper than his earlier communications and he closed the letter pleading to be tested as "it is a matter of vital importance to me."[16]

Powell received orders to report to the post hospital at Camp Stambaugh, Wyoming Territory, on January 30,

Dr. Frank Powell.
Photo, Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin, La Crosse

1874. In March a critical Dr. Maghee visited Dr. Powell and made this diary entry:

> We found Dr. Powell in Old Keims playing 'Pitch' with a crowd of roughs. He was rude in not going over with us to his quarters. I wish I had not gone... Powell tried to apologize by talking of the corpse he was trying to get at. He and his wife have separated, he accusing her of Crim. Con. with that young Tyler [probably Captain George L. Tyler assigned to the 2nd Cavalry December 15, 1870] and in the same breath tell of his

[11] Graduation program Louisville Medical College, February, 1873, University of Louisville Archives.

[12] Charles Lindsay, ed., "The Diary of Dr. Thomas G. Maghee," *Nebraska History* XII (July 1929), 264.

[13] Unidentified article dated December 3, 7905 (sic), Powell files, Buffalo Bill Historical Center; William F. Cody, *The Wizard Bothers, or White Beaver's Red Trail* (New York: Beadle and Adams, 1886).

[14] Official correspondence folder, Thomas Maghee Papers, American Heritage Center. After repeated examinations starting in 1874, Maghee finally became an Examining Surgeon on March 18, 1881.

[15] Powell military records, National Archives. Powell started to intensify his campaign to get examined on April 13, 1873, with a letter to Secretary of War William Belknap and a letter to the Surgeon General J.K. Barnes on May 5, 1873.

[16] Powell military records, National Archives.

[17] Lindsay, "The Diary of Dr. Thomas G. Maghee," 286.

Frank Powell and unidentified child.
Murphy Library, University of Wisconsin, LaCrosse

connection with Modoc Lucy prior to his wife's fault... I hear today that Powell is bumming with those bilks at Miners Delight.[17]

Dr. Maghee did not approve of Dr. Powell's life and he would have noted it if Powell either killed "young Tyler" or ran off and became an outlaw. Nonetheless, the tale of Dr. Powell's first marriage is not completely told.

In the beginning of 1874, Dr. Powell became concerned that his age would make him too old to be accepted in the regular military medical corps. He annulled his contract when the Surgeon General did not approve his request for a leave of absence to study medicine.

In Louisville, Powell worked as an Assistant Demonstrator of Anatomy at the Medical College and continued to pester Generals Belknap and Brow about his examination for the regul medical corps. Powell finally receive his invitation to appear before the Boar of Medical Examiners on November 1 1874, four days after Congress lifted th hiring freeze. Dr. Powell appeared befor the Military Medical Examiners on Apr 5, 1875, and flunked the anatomy portio of the test.[18] The examination deeply af fected Dr. Powell who studied anatom for the better part of his life.[19]

On April 20, 1875, Dr. Powell signe another contract with the army as a Acting Assistant Surgeon and reporte for duty at Camp Robinson, Nebraska, week later. In August, Dr. Powell wa ordered to Fort Laramie and report to th Surgeon General about equipment that h lost.[20]

That October, Powell accompanie two companies of the 2nd Cavalry t Camp Stambaugh to relieve Dr. Maghee who had been previously ordered to tes tify at a court martial. Maghee could no leave because "There being a large num ber of sick at the Post and there being n other assistainces [sic] available the Cap tains would not permit the Doctor to leav the Post."[21] Powell took over Dr. Maghee' duties in November. Four days after h left, Maghee returned because his order to testify had been countermanded. Dr Maghee found that "eight bottles of brandy some whiske and a number of bottles of wine of the hospital stores were consumed. Dr. Maghee also found a pillow and shee missing and other pillows and sheets had been "mad filthy."[22]

The amount of alcohol consumed indicated either large party or an individual with so many problems that h

[18] Powell military records.

[19] Muriel Blackdeer, *An Eagle Blessed Our Home* (Minneapolis Skandisk, 1994), 61.

[20] Ibid; Fort Laramie Post Returns.

[21] Camp Brown Post Record 1875-January 1876, in Box 1, Maghe Papers, American Heritage Center; Fort Laramie Post Returns; Powe military records.

[22] Ibid.

tried to drown them in a sea of alcohol. Dr. Powell's career and marriage both appeared to be on the skids, and someone, maybe Dr. Maghee, caused trouble. "The doctor is intelligent in his profession, but is so erratic and dissipated in his habits as to be totally unreliable."[23] When Dr. Powell returned from Camp Stambaugh the army annulled his contract.

Even though the Surgeon General officially "blacklisted" Frank Powell by the end of 1875, shortly before the Custer debacle in 1876, eight companies of the 5th Cavalry commanded by General Wesley Merritt arrived at Fort Laramie and soon left to join the Big Horn Expedition. "Acting Assistant Surgeon Powell" accompanied the command, led by Chief of Scouts Buffalo Bill Cody.[24] How Powell got hired after being "blacklisted" is unknown, but after the army annulled his contract, there is no record of his activities until June 1876.

Powell and Cody seem to gravitate together during times of trouble. Earlier in 1876, just before Cody made his entrance for the first act of Scouts of the Plains in Springfield, Massachusetts, he received a telegram stating that his only son Kitty, Kit Carson Cody, lay dying of scarlet fever at Cody's home in Rochester, New York. Between the first and second acts, Bill apologized to the audience and rushed home to be with his boy. There, he found Kitty too sick to talk, but the child put his arms around his father's neck "as if to say 'papa's come'." Kitty died in his father's arms April 22.[25] Bill and Louisa's only son died just as their marriage started to feel the strain of Buffalo Bill's public life tugging against Louisa's desire to live a private, catholic life.[26]

Powell, too, had the dreams of his youth shattered. His wife had found a barracks bed romance with "young Tyler" and Powell suffered the humiliation of begging favors from superiors only to fail the examination. Powell's wife did not even leave her name for posterity. She only left Frank with a bad memory and the solace of the bottle which caused Frank the ultimate professional humiliation of being "blacklisted."

In the spring of 1877, Frank Powell married 15-year-old Alberta Brockway in Lanesboro, Minnesota, and settled in LaCrosse, Wisconsin, where he practiced medicine. From this point on, Powell and Cody began the process of rebuilding "White Beaver's" past in the popular press. Not only did Powell need to hide his sordid past, but because of the popularity of Native remedies it made good business sense to promote a romantic, Indian heritage.

Frank Powell's nickname "White Beaver," has been given several origins. Some writers have claimed that Powell went into an Indian camp in 1876 to vaccinate the whole tribe for smallpox and was given a robe of sixteen white beaver pelts to honor his bravery. Other writers have stated that Powell was given the name "White

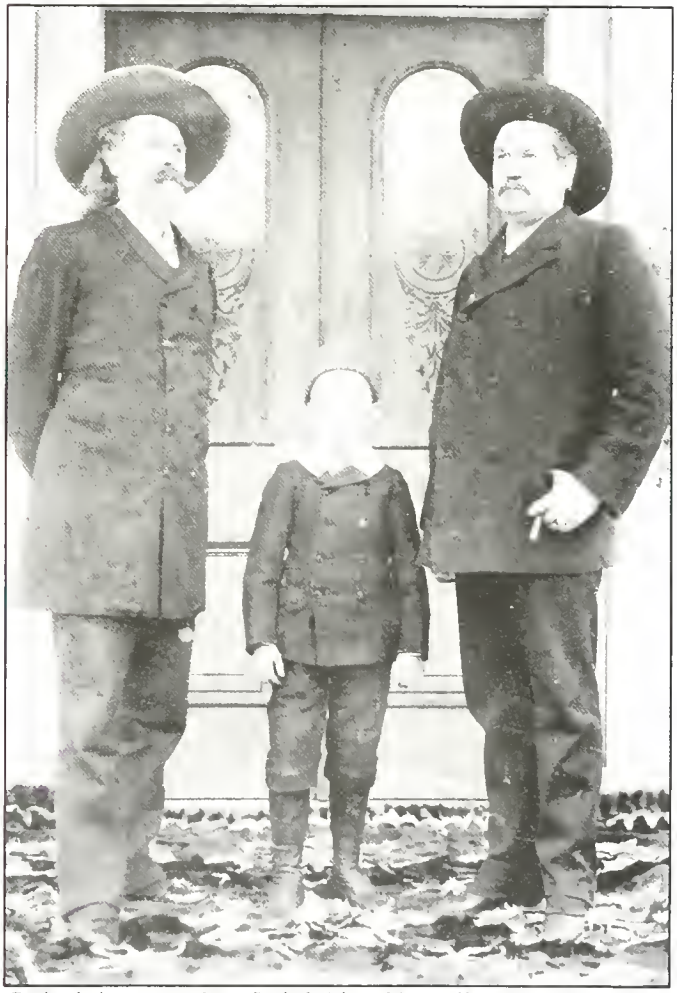
[23] Powell military records.

[24] Fort Laramie Post Returns.

[25] Stella Adelyne Foote, *Letters From Buffalo Bill* (Billings: Foote Pub. Co., 1959), 13; Don Russell, *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), 213; Yost, *Buffalo Bill*, 82-83; Henry Blackman Sell and Victor Weybright, *Buffalo Bill and The Wild West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), 108; Richard J. Walsh and Milton S. Salsbury, *The Making of Buffalo Bill* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1928), 187-188; Joseph G. Rosa and Robin May, *Buffalo Bill and his Wild West* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1989), 53-55; Cody, 338-339

[26] Yost, *Buffalo Bill*, 316.

[27] William Cody, *White Beaver's Still Hunt; or the Miner Marauder's Death-Track* (New York: Beable and Adams, 1894); *The Wizard Brothers, or White Beaver Trail* (New York: Beadles' Dime Novel, #597); Alexander Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier* (Chicago and New York: Rand, McNally & Company, 1893), 317-319; W.B "Bat" Masterson, "Bad Men and the Law," *The Inter Ocean Magazine*, Feb. 28, 1909.



Cody (left), an unidentified child and Powell. Photo courtesy of Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin, La Crosse

Beaver" for saving the life of Woo-Noo-Shiek, head chief of the Winnebago tribe.[28] A more romantic legend has it that the Indian in need of Dr. Powell's healing hands was the comely daughter of Rocky Bear, chief of the Cut-Off Sioux, who bestowed the sobriquet on Dr. Powell.[29] Finally, there are some who think there is a bit of truth in all of the above but that Frank's nickname "White Beaver" came about because he was a member of the Beaver Clan of the Seneca Tribe and he had white skin.[30] Regardless of how Powell got the nickname "White Beaver, " it stuck, and the Winnebago held him in high regard.

The Winnebago dealt with Powell as a man of power and deserving respect, and his status with them that started around 1877, lasted for the rest of his life. This may be because Dr. Powell often traveled among the Winnebago dispensing free medicine and medical advice and he reportedly told the Winnebago, who believed in reincarnation, that "he had made a mistake being born into the white race that he would come back to life among the Indians."[31] After Powell's death, the *St. Paul Dispatch* reported that there was a power struggle in the Winnebago tribe to see who would succeed Powell as "medicine chief."

In the June 26, 1880, edition of *Harding's Herald* (Lanesboro, Minnesota,) is printed "The White Beaver's Declaration of Independence" signed by "D.F. Powell, Medicine Chief of the Winnebago Indians." In his declaration, Dr. Powell proclaimed that he would openly advertise his medical practice without "the fear of being branded as a quack." Throughout the rest of his life Dr. Powell advertised himself and his businesses liberally. In 1882, Powell stated that he spent $2,000 in advertising and expected to spend $10,000 in1883.[32] His offices in La Crosse were marked by large banners, and according to the *La Crosse Morning Chronicle*, Pettibone Island was called "Cough Cream Island" by at least one child because of Powell's banner emblazoned on it.[33]

Powell's fear of being considered a quack because of his large advertising budget was warranted. By the turn of the century Scott's Emulsion and Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound advertising accounts were each one million dollars a year.[34] Powell also ran "medical institutes"when he set up practices in Lanesboro, La Crosse and St. Paul. Medical institutes were a popular front for quacks, and Dr. Powell's institute had many of the earmarks of a quack's operation. The quacks' institutes tended to appear like museums, which Powell's did, and quacks "hooked" patients by frightening them of the side effects of self abuse, and diseases more social, which Powell also did. However, quacks' medical institutes rarely existed in one location for longer than a year, whic was not the case with Dr. Powell, and unlike Powell the rarely provided sound medical services. The line betwee quack and doctor was a fine one and "the status of medic knowledge was little advanced over that of the coloni years, and the status of therapy was, if anything, worse." Dr. Powell had a modern approach to medicine. Unlik many of his contemporaries, he did not feel constrained t use only one methodology, but "such methods as hav commended themselves by experience have been adopte as adjuncts to actual medicine in such cases as see reasonable and proper."[36]

In addition, "I claim to possess, and can prove that possess, an extraordinary natural development of the pe ceptive faculties, which have been cultivated by systen atic use until the most minute details of objects, perso and diseases are quickly grasped and permanently fixed i the mind."[37] When his friend and business partner, Bi Cody, gave Powell a testimonial, he wrote,

> He is as good a surgeon as there is in the world today, and he cures half his patients without medicine if they only knew it...the long and the short of the whole thing is Frank is a natural-born doctor and don't you forget it.[38]

The vast majority of accounts concerning Powell's skill a a surgeon are laudatory, and Powell's notoriety as a docto formed the basis of his political career in Wisconsi though his unorthodox and flamboyant life often got hi in trouble.

[28] *La Crosse Tribune*, Nov. 14, 1926; Mary Hardgrove Hebberd, *Wisconsin Magazine of History* (Summer 1952), 307.
[29] Buel, *Heroes of the Plains*, 548-560; Petey O'Donnell, "The Life and Times of Dr. White Beaver Powell," *Wisconsin Trails Magazine*, July/August 1985.
[30] *Soldiers' and Citizens' Album of Biographical Record*, 612.
[31] Mary Hardgrove Hebberd, *Notes on Dr. David Franklin Powell, Known as 'White Beaver'* (La Crosse: Medical Society, 1966), 17.
[32] *Morning Chronicle*, Jan. 6, 1883. The *Morning Chronicle*'s owner and editor was Ellis Usher who liked the Powell brothers and wanted them to join the Democratic Party. Usher, Wisconsin's Democratic Chairman, became very hostile to the Powells when they remained Populists and then joined the Republican party. However, Usher continued to accept the Powells' money and run articles, some of which were written by them, until they became polarized by the "sound money issue.
[33] *Morning Chronicle*, Dec. 22, 1883.
[34] Young, Toadstool 88 & 104.
[35] Young, 36.
[36] *De Soto Chronicle*, Jan. 8, 1887.
[37] *Harding's Herald*, June 26, 1880.
[38] *De Soto Chronicle*, Jan. 8, 1887.

Powell's clinic in La Crosse, Wisconsin, was lavishly decorated (right). The outside was covered with advertising signs (lower photo).

Photo courtesy of Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin, La Crosse

Photo courtesy of Murphy Library, University of Wisconsin, La Crosse

Powell's new La Crosse practice succeeded so well that within a couple of months after his move in November, 1881, he had to double his office space. By the middle of 1882, Powell's success prompted threats against him by writers of anonymous notes who often resorted to racial and professional slurs. To these Powell replied, "YOU COWARDS, come to my face and talk business...I don't scare worth a cent."[39] On April 14, 1884, the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* reported that a drunken Sioux attempted to assassinate the doctor. The details are unclear but it may be related to these La Crosse "cowards" or the doctors in St. Paul, Minn., who Powell believed, were using any means to stop him from expanding his La Crosse practice into St. Paul.

In 1884, in spite of proving that he graduated from medical college more than a decade earlier, served in the frontier military, taught college anatomy, and ran an honorable medical practice, the newly formed Minnesota Medical Examining Board rejected Powell's application for certification to practice medicine in that state. The board's reasons for not accepting Powell's application were racially motivated. Dr. Powell took the case to the Minnesota State Supreme Court and lost.[40] He then offered to send the Medical Examiners his formula if they would send him an uncancelled two-cent stamp for postage less 1/8 for his Indian blood.[41]

Undeterred by the Medical Examiners, Powell opened up an office in St. Paul. By October 14 people thronged to his office, "some to consult him regarding their ailments others to see the man who has pluck enough to defend what he considers his professional rights."[42]

By 1885, Powell's name had been much in front of the public. There were the advertisements for his medical practices, mentions of his 1881 acting experience with the "Buffalo Bill Combination," the references to him in *The Prairie Waif* and close friendship with Buffalo Bill, his fight with the Minnesota Board of Medical Examiners and replies to anonymous threats. In 1881, a dime novel "signed by Dr. Frank Powell, known as White Beaver" titled *The Doomed Dozen; or, Dolores the Danite's Daughter* was published. In addition, in 1884 Bill Cody wrote a series of three novels starring Frank Powell. The same year, J.W. Buel published *Heroes of the Plains* with Dr. Powell's reworked biography included, and Prentiss Ingraham continued to feature the Powell brothers in his dime novel inventions. Frank Powell is associated with a total of forty dime novels.[43]

On the strength of the wide publicity he was enjoying, Powell entered politics back in LaCrosse. On April 4, 1885, three days before La Crosse's mayoral election, he announced his independent candidacy for mayor. His popularity, and the promises he and his brother George made carried the day.

Within a week, Mayor Powell made his first move as mayor by firing a policeman who "used scurrilous and malicious language when speaking of the chief executive of the city [Powell]."[44] Either in spite of its Democratic base, or because Powell paid them 12-50 cents per line, the *Morning Chronicle* published this statement of support for him after he was elected:

> If people are disposed to call him an Indian we know that it is true, his connection with the "first families of America" is thereby firmly established and the know-nothings ought to be satisfied. The doctor certainly has more personal dignity than most of his detractors and is in no sense a man discreditable to La Crosse.[45]

Political attacks would continue, but most of the racial and all of the medical slander stopped. Indians who went to their "Medicine Chief's" office for treatment still had to wait on the sidewalk until all of the white people had left.

During Powell's four terms as mayor he showed an evenhanded treatment for his constituents and a willing

[39] *Morning Chronicle*, Aug. 30, 1882.

[40] *Morning Chronicle*, July 23, 1884; Minnesota Medical Examining Board Depositions, Nov. 7, 24, 1883, Jan. 16, 23, 25, 1884, April 29, 1884; Minnesota Supreme Court Decision #17615, filed Oct. 9, 1884. The newly formed State Medical Board did not decide what constituted "unprofessional" behavior until its meeting on April 29, 1884, six months after they first met to judge the qualifications of Powell and those physicians who wanted certification to practice medicine in Minnesota. Their job was to start the process of weeding out "quacks" who passed through Minnesota fleecing its citizens. The board had to establish standards and that those standards discriminated against practitioners, like Powell, who operated under the old rules of conduct, were unfortunate. Quacks were very effective attracting the ill, and Powell used many of their methods. In the State Medical board's depositions it is Powell's title "the medicine Chief of the Winnebagos" that appears to have bothered the board.

[41] *Morning Chronicle*, July 23, 1884.

[42] *The Day*, Oct. 11, 1884.

[43] Don Russell, *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), 282, 389; William Cody, *White Beaver, The Exile of the Platte; or, A Wronged Man's Red Trail* (New York: Beadle's Dime Novel, #594); *The Wizard Brothers; or White Beaver's Trail* (New York: Beadle's Dime Novel, #597); *The Dead Shot Nine; or My Pards of the Plains* (New York: Beadle's Dime Novel, #599).

[44] *Morning Chronicle*, April 17, 1885

[45] *Morning Chronicle*, April 10, 1885

ıess to fight for what he thought was right. He occasionally ısed the mayor's office as a bully pulpit and often ne-glected his elected responsibilities. White Beaver made nany political enemies, but he also made numerous loyal riends. Until Powell finally left Wisconsin at the turn of he century, state political bosses had to take Frank Powell's "Winnebago Vote" into account.

The mayor was a fiscal conservative who often gave noney and clothes to the poor who came to him in need of ıelp. A demon when enraged, a puppy with children, White Beaver had the trust and affection of many of the umberman, riverman, brewers, and other laborers of La Crosse. Within a year, he and his brothers helped to form he Workingman's Party. The Workingman's Party soon ecame the Labor Party, then the Union Labor Party, and hey eventually joined with the Populist's People's Party. These parties gave Frank identifiable ideological bases to vork from until he formally cast his lot in with the Republicans in 1897, to help defeat the Democrats, and, ronically, the People's Party.

Powell's first major act as mayor was to throw a party. le decided to have an "old time Fourth of July celebration -one that will purify the atmosphere, cleanse the blood, egulate deranged bodily functions, and be a joy for-ver."[46] The city council did not agree with Powell's grand cheme and they would not fund the celebration. Powell vas not a man to be thwarted from his goals, and so he paid or the party himself.

By June 16, more than 4,000 youngsters had registered t Dr. Powell's offices to attend the celebration. Once the ıembers of the city council saw that the celebration would e a success, they offered to pick up the party's tab, but owell rejected their help and refused hundreds of dollars f private contributions. Eventually many La Crosse busi-esses and civic organizations contributed their services, ot money, to Mayor Powell's lesson on patriotism.

"There was never anything like it before and there can ever be anything like it again - for the charm of novelty vould be lacking even if the attempt were made." No oubt the "Injun's" party proved to many of its immigrant articipants that the American Dream could come true, and o the twenty-five thousand people who attended Mayor owell's birthday party for America in 1885, it was eported that he was "Prince of Childhood" that day and ıere were no "better classes."[47]

A fire destroyed hundreds of homes in La Crosse ums and raged in La Crosse's lumberyards during the pril 7, 1886, election. Mayor Powell voted, helped fight ıe fire, and then personally paid to house the displaced families. He went to Milwaukee in May to support the predominantly immigrant laborers in their bloody fight for economic parity. Wisconsin's Adjutant General requested Powell's military record soon after May's Bay View riots in Milwaukee on the pretext of seeing, for "census purposes," if Powell served during the Civil War. By the summer, Powell's supporters had grown to include a plurality of blue collar workers in Wisconsin.[48]

On the strength of his perceived support, Powell decided to run for governor. He lost a vicious primary floor fight to Robert Schilling who favored the moderate gentleman farmer and former "Greenbacker" Col. John Cockrane. Powell then refused the convention's draft to second the ticket as lieutenant governor, choosing instead to run for La Crosse's seat in the state senate. The *La Crosse Republican and Leader* urged Republicans to defeat Powell who, the *Leader* stated, harbored ambitions to be elected by the Wisconsin Senate to the U.S. Senate. In October, the Law and Order League, headed by La Crosse's ministers, added to La Crosse's political excitement by having a strong push to have the saloons closed on Sunday by invoking the puritanical Sunday law. Powell put off any decisive action until after the election because he needed the support of both the Law and Order League and the tavern owners. In spite of the tactic, Powell and the Union Labor ticket lost.

The Law and Order League soon became fed up with Powell's inaction. The league employed a special detective to obtain evidence of infractions and they threatened to impeach Powell if he did not prosecute the offending tavern keepers. The mayor ordered Police Chief Clark to arrest all persons doing business on Sunday. On November 7, 1886, police made forty-eight arrests, including the owner of the *Morning Chronicle*, the president of the street railway company, people working on their houses and one man building a coffin for his recently deceased child.

[46] "White Beaver Host to 10,000 Children at Picnic in 1885," *La Crosse Tribune*[?], Feb. 9, 1936; *La Crosse Tribune*, March 16, 1961; *Morning Chronicle*, May 24, 26, 27, 1885; *Republican and Leader*, May 30, 1885; *Daily Journal*, June 6, 10, 11, 15, 18, 1885.

[47] *La Crosse Tribune and Leader-Press*, May 24, 1942; *Morning Chronicle*, July 7, 1885; *Republican and Leader*, July 11, 1885, *Daily Journal*, July 4, 6, 1885.

[48] *Evening Star*, April 7, 1886; *Daily Journal*, May 1, 1886; Powell Military Record. For more on Milwaukee's Bay View Riots, see Robert C. Nesbit, *The History of Wisconsin* 8 (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1985), 381-406; Jerry M. Cooper, "The Milwaukee National Guard in the Milwaukee Riots of 1886," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 55 (Autumn 1971).

Professional church singers were not exempted, but no saloons or cigar stores were found open.

The number of arrests caused a backlog in the courts, but Powell's actions put the council in a bind. They were forced to commend the mayor's law enforcement efforts.[49] Powell later issued a notice to the chief of police that stated "Having demonstrated to the satisfaction of the community that a continued enforcement of the Sunday law in La Crosse would be absurd. You are hereby notified to instruct your officers to confine themselves to preserving the peace as long established usages and customs require."[50] The enforcement of the Sunday law stopped.

Frank Powell did not run for mayor in 1887. His brother George ran instead. George, initially the favorite, ran a gutter campaign which included personal and political attacks against his brother. George wanted Frank's power over La Crosse's masses and he told the editor of his political organ, *The Daily Advocate*, to "cut Frank's heart out," in the newspaper's editorials. As always, brother William Powell sided with brother George Powell against brother Frank. The sibling free-for-all continued in the election day edition of the *Morning Chronicle* where Frank published a two column front page diatribe denouncing George's fratricide.[51]

After George's upset defeat, Frank took a trip to England where Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show was performing for the celebration of Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee. Naturally, Dr. Powell marketed his patent medicine while staying there. Cody did not mind. By that point he owned half of White Beaver's Cough Cream. A year earlier, he had advertised Beaver's nostrum on his act curtain during the "Buffalo Bill's Wild West" stay at Madison Square Garden.[52]

At that time, Powell and Cody began planning business projects from Indian Hill in La Crosse, to their colony of "Paloma" in Mexico. They later started another patent medicine business, "Pan-a-malt." None turned out to be solid investments.

Their public bombast did not carry over to their personal lives. Powell is mentioned in news articles as being a member of Buffalo Bill's entourage, but there is little mention of him in Bill Cody's letters, and the Powell family left no letters.

In 1888, the Union Labor Party drafted Frank Powell to head their ticket for governor. From the start Frank saw the impossibility of winning. "The Charge of the Six Hundred was not more hopeless than his prospects of election." However, he believed that a solid showing of labor would legitimize the Union Labor party, so he ran.[53] James Morgan, who led many of the Milwaukee membe of the Union Labor party, also wanted the party's nomin tion. When Morgan did not get it, he turned on Powell ar accepted the Democratic nomination for Governor. It sp the Labor vote. Powell would not withdraw and the vot he controlled would have elected Morgan in the mult party race. The result destroyed the Union Labor Party Wisconsin.

Powell moved to St. Paul in 1891, only to return to L Crosse to run for Congress the next year. He ran at th urging of Robert Schilling who had helped start a nation third party, the People's Party. Schilling knew that Powell Winnebago vote would be crucial if the movement were t succeed in Wisconsin. Powell lost. Nonetheless, he w back in politics. In 1893, he won the mayoralty of L Crosse again and, the next year, he again tried, unsucces fully, for the governorship. This time, the attacks from th La Crosse Morning Chronicle were increasingly barbe the paper accusing "the Beaver" of using the People party for his personal welfare.[54]

By 1896, the local party organs effectively had unde mined Frank Powell's political power. Joining with h brothers in the Republican Party was the only option le to Frank. He became an active member of the Silv Republican Party. The Powell brothers fought amon themselves but they drew together for protection. Th racial attacks increased and the nativist/racist America Protective Association spent money in an attempt t diminish their power. William Finch, a leader of L Crosse' s Republicans, remained dubious and sometime openly hostile about the "Injun Doctors" and their follow ers. The Powell boys could knuckle fight and their riva were not always kind: "Dr. Powell is sneeringly referre to by his political opponents as an uneducated, half bree Indian." Powell responded, in kind, by describing Finc as "a cross between a hermaphrodite and a moral leper."

The Voice of the People told the whole story as see by the public: "Deserted by the Populists, disdained by th Republicans, and despised by the Democrats, the Beave

[49] *Morning Chronicle*, Nov. 9, 13, 1886; *Daily Journal*, Nov. 10, 1886; *Weekly Labor Advocate*, Nov. 12, 1886.

[50] *Morning Chronicle*, Nov. 14, 19, 20, 1886.

[51] *Morning Chronicle*, April 19, 1887; *Weekly Labor Advocate*, March 1, 8, 22, 25, 29, 1887.

[52] *Morning Chronicle*, Jan. 1, 1887; Jan. 22, 1888.

[53] *Republican and Leader*, July 28, 1888.

[54] *Morning Chronicle*, Nov. 4, 6, 1894

[55] *Wisconsin Weekly Labor Advocate*, August 20, 1886.

[Powell] has finally located where he belongs in politics. His little party... is the last resource of a played out political humbug."[56]

The 1897 campaign for mayor started up rumors again concerning the activities of the Powell brothers. On March 7, the *Morning Chronicle* stated that, "'White Beaver' wants the Populist nomination for mayor and his brother 'Night Hawk' wants the nomination for mayor on the Republican ticket. If one succeeds and the other fails, the loser will have excuse for getting out his scalping knife."

Neither got their party's nomination. The Populist Democrats took control of the People's Party convention and fused with the regular Democrats by jointly nominating a candidate for mayor. The new rulers of the People's Party, a party started in La Crosse by the three Powell brothers, kicked Frank out of the party and denounced him as a base "political trickster." Many of Powell's friends walked out of the convention with the members of the People's Party who objected to fusion. The defectors convinced Frank to run for Mayor as an independent, and "many Populists who were formerly opponents of Powell now declare that they will fight under his banner and use every effort to defeat the Democratic-Populist combine."[57]

W.R. Finch's Republicans "trimmed up" George and the underhanded way that they were dealt with angered the Powell brothers. Like they had done during their transition to La Crosse more than twenty years earlier, the entire "Powell brotherhood" stood behind Frank, who withstood his enemies' heated attacks and drew the Populist vote away from the Democrats to himself and the Republicans.

The Democratic *Morning Chronicle* hammered Frank for his breach of faith and the paper stated that Frank Powell paid for his supporters' loyalty. Powell made his rebuttal at a rally in the New Union hall on April 2, 1897, and stated:

> I cannot give money like other candidates including the Prohibition candidate for beer galore. But I will say that had I in my pockets to-night the money I have paid out for food, medicine and clothing for the poor people of this city, I would not ask you into a saloon, but I would give you a deed in fee simple of a brewery."

Much to the glee of both the *Republican and Leader* and the *Morning Chronicle*, Powell lost the election to the Republican. The Democrats and Populists beat the Powells but both parties were destroyed in the process.

Before the new mayor could officially take control of the city government, State law No. 107S, published April 7, 1897, Chapter 247, went into effect:

> AN ACT to establish a board of police and fire commissioners in the cities of the second and third class... It shall be the duty of the mayor of any city, subject to the provisions of this act, before the first Monday of May, 1897, to appoint four members of said board, designating the term of office of each...

The out-going mayor saw his chance to tweak the noses of his detractors. From his St. Paul office, and by some reports while he was drunk, Mayor Powell filled the board as proscribed by the new law just before he completed his term of office.[58] He chose brother George to head the board, which surprised no one, but to second the board, Powell turned a lot of heads with the appointment of his old nemesis William Finch, "who has had sham rabies over the Powells for years."[59]

Frank's appointments made it easy for Night Hawk George to "trim up" Finch with intrigues of his own and the Powell brothers' revenge against the local politicos lasted until July 7, when the Circuit Court ruled that the "Winnebago Police Board" was illegal.

When the Spanish-American war broke out in 1898, Powell saw the opportunity to add a military title to his credentials. He formed the 7th Infantry "Immunes," also known as "The Wisconsin Rough Riders." Like Bill Cody, Frank made a number of loud representations about going to the front, and like Bill Cody, Frank never went. The La Crosse newspapers began referring to Powell as "Black Beaver." Like Powell, "Buffalo Bill" became the object of public scorn. Cody found himself caught in a businessman's trap; if he went off to war his massive business interests would collapse and he would have hurt thousands of people who depended on him for support.[60]

Later in the year, the *La Crosse Press* reported that Frank was having trouble with his eyes.[61] Frank's vision problem, that he first received treatment for in 1888, was probably serious because a photo in the Park County Historical Society shows him a couple of years later squinting heavily. Powell obtained a colonel's commission from Governor Schofield in the beginning of 1899. He did not expect to stay in Wisconsin much longer, but the

[56] Reprinted in *Morning Chronicle*, Oct. 8, 1895.

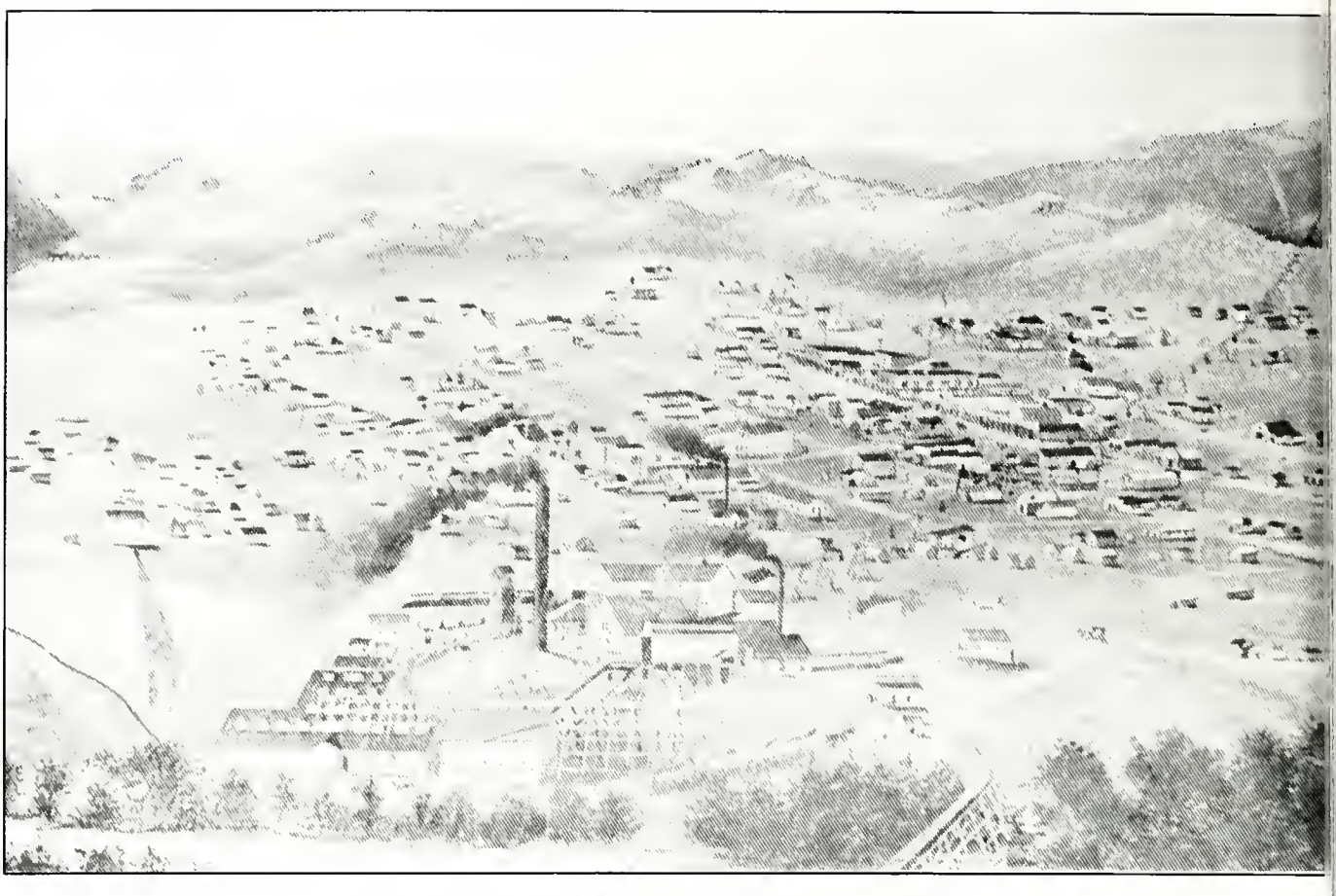
[57] *Republican and Leader*, March 26, 1897.

[58] *Morning Chronicle*, July 3, 1897.

[59] *Morning Chronicle*, May 16, 1897.

[60] Loose unidentified article, attributed to the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* in Powell vertical file, Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody.

[61] *La Crosse Press*, Oct. 29, 1898.



Grand Encampment, Wyoming. M. V. Houghton drawing.

military title would make his transition easier. He stayed long enough to deliver his "Winnebago Vote" to the Republicans before moving to St. Paul.[62]

Colonel Powell went to Grand Encampment, Wyoming, sometime in early 1899, with Charlie Freeman. Freeman told Powell that, "There is the making of a great city in Carbon County, Wyoming, and there is enough gold, silver and copper within twenty miles of the place to make it a second Denver."[63]

The appearance of Grand Encampment disappointed Powell, but by June he was the principal owner, founder, and president of "The Copper Giant Gold and Copper Company of Grand Encampment, Wyoming." Grand Encampment showed great promise. The rapid development caused a shortage of lumber that "presages a lumber famine in the near future unless new milling enterprises shall promptly appear to relieve the pressure."[64]

"Wonderful results obtained from meager developments" at the Copper Giant, and the booming local economy convinced Powell that Grand Encampment would become "the next Denver," and he founded the North Fork Lumber Company on April 20, 1900. The company should have been a success. Unfortunately, that summer the area experienced a series of forest fires. On August 16 a fire swept down the North Fork of the Encampment River and burned the North Fork lumber mill and the Copper Giant gold mine to the ground. Two men died. One estimate put the loss to the two properties at a quarter of a million dollars.[65] Powell told a La Crosse reporter: "This country has run me up against a tough proposition. My old bronco has brought me back from a scene of a disaster which few men can view with complacency... The savings of a lifetime have gone up in smoke."[66]

[62] *Morning Chronicle*, Jan. 4, 12, 1899; *Republican and Leader*, Jan. 13, 1899.

[63] *Grand Encampment Herald*, Dec. 5, 1902.

[64] *Grand Encampment Herald*, Jan. 12, 1900.

[65] *Morning Chronicle*, Sept. 4, 1900.

[66] *Morning Chronicle*, Sept. 11, 1900.

Colonel Powell was down, but he was not out. Powell's gold mine outshone the lumber yard that February when the Copper Giant supposedly "hit the jackpot." Like a dime novel hero, Powell put his faith in the gold mine and liquidated the North Fork Lumber Company to free his resources for his principal mining claim. Promises of great fortunes backed by small pockets of ore were the only riches mined at the Copper Giant. The Copper Giant's stock did not sell. By March 14, the asking price fell from $1.05 to 50 cents per share, and according to *The Copper Handbook*, the Copper Giant "sold considerable stock at 5 cents per share." Even "deep pockets" have bottoms, and Colonel Powell's pockets had few coins remaining.

Work on the claim became temporarily suspended in June when seeping water in the tunnel made work impractical. To raise money, the stockholders voted to change the capitalization from 600,000 shares to one million shares. The *Grand Encampment Herald* reported:

> Col. Cody, the world renowned Buffalo Bill, has become the heaviest (outside of Col. Frank Powell) stockholder in the Copper Giant Mining Company... by placing money enough to the credit of the Copper Giant to run a tunnel clear through the Hillside Mountain if necessary.

Buffalo Bill came to Powell's rescue; it probably cost Colonel Cody $60,000.[67]

In the winter of 1902, the *Grand Encampment Herald* ran a long article on Frank Powell, the early days in Encampment, and added this ominous note:

> The Copper Giant [is] a proposition about which clings an air of mystery. If one asks Supt. Waterbury what he is finding there, he gives some evasive answer, and the Colonel [Powell] refers inquirers to the superintendent, so there is little satisfaction talking to either one of them regarding the result of the work up there.[68]

[67] In Cody's will of Feb. 14, 1906, his estate contained 400,000 shares of the Copper Giant Gold and Copper Company. Copy in collections of the Buffalo Bill Historical Center. Experts might have convinced Cody that the Copper Giant was a good investment, but assay samples taken from the Copper Giant's "dump" in the summer of 1991 by the author and Dan Hausel, a precious metals expert for the Wyoming Geological Survey, showed no gold, copper, or silver. Laboratory Report, GSW Lab. #911105 (Laramie: Geological Survey of Wyoming, 1991).

[68] *Grand Encampment Herald*, Dec. 5, 1902.

Main Street, Encampment, where Col. Powell invested. Photo courtesy of American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.

A month later, the same paper reported that the Copper Giant was in paydirt. Because of this development, Powell and Cody stated that they planned to construct a stamp mill on the North Fork of the Encampment River in the spring.[69] However, physical evidence and contemporary stories of the North Fork area would indicate that nothing ever got built.

In September, Cody was suffering from poor health. He needed the assistance of Dr. Powell's healing hands. The doctor went to England to cure his famous friend. Cody wrote Julia that "I am getting better every day. I tell you Dr. Powell is the best Doctor on earth."[70]

After the 1903 tour ended in November, Bill Cody came to Grand Encampment to inspect the mine. Buffalo Bill said relatively little about the Copper Giant, but he did state that "It takes capital to build up Wyoming and we have to keep the ball rolling."[71]

Immediately after his visit to the Copper Giant, Cody returned to his town of Cody, Wyoming, and met with his friend Frank Powell. The sub-zero weather did not stop the two friends from taking a hunt at Cody's TE ranch during which they discussed the future. As a later author commented on the hunting trip: "The Col. went up to his TE Ranch in the mountains, where, as he explained to Julia, he had greater peace of mind and it was there where he felt nearer to God."[72]

Two days after they arrived in the area, the *Cody Enterprise* reported that Dr. Powell, "one of the brainiest men in the entire west" was thinking about taking up residency in town. Uncharacteristically, Powell declined to give a speech.[73] The reason for his unaccustomed silence became apparent on January 1, 1904, when a forfeiture notice appeared in the *Grand Encampment Herald* against Frank Powell for $100 "in labor and improvements upon the Black Gracie lode mining claim," part of the Copper Giant.[74] After the notice ran in paper for the legally required length of time, the Copper Giant disappeared from the newspaper's columns.

Sometime near the end of 1903, Frank Powell did move to Cody where he was to manage Buffalo Bill's great new "Wonderland Development Corporation" valued at $5,000,000. In addition, Powell bought and sold horses for Cody and became a semi-retired gentleman.[75]

Buffalo Bill's marriage, weak for a number of years, began unraveling in 1905 with the filing of divorce proceedings. Powell added to the squabble when he gave his fanciful version of a fight between Bill and Louisa that supposedly took place on their way to their daughter Arta's funeral. In his decision, Judge Scott discounted Powell's testimony, and in July, Cody telegraphed Powell to dr the suit.[76] Three days later Bill wrote to Julia about "havi hard times now," and that he would like to retire in fi years like "all my old Army friends retire. Oh, Bro Fra will retire with me and if he and I haven't a home and son money to live on, by that time, we are no good."[77]

The friends did not have a chance to share retireme together. In October, Powell had a major heart attack aft returning from a horse buying trip to St. Louis. In November, he lingered on death's door in his sick room the Irma Hotel. People wondered if Dr. Powell would d before Colonel Cody would return from the 1905 tour December. According to Powell's nurse, he repeated stated that, "I'm not going to die. I'm going to live unt my brother comes if I die the next day?[sic]"[78] Whe Colonel Cody finally arrived home "Tears stood in th eyes of both of these old frontiersmen as the colonel stoo by Dr. Powell's bedside and grasped his emaciated hand."

Perhaps it would have been more pleasing poeticall if Frank had died during that touching scene. He did no For some unknown reason, Powell had a fight with Buffal Bill. The exact circumstances are unknown, but the dissolved their death pact to be buried on two mountair so that their spirits could guard the approaches to Bill town of Cody. The two men who shared a spiritual bon parted under a cloud.[80]

On May 6, 1906, while on an eastbound train from Lo Angeles, where he intended to relocate for his health, D David Franklin Powell died of a heart attack near El Pas Texas. It is appropriate that the funeral party from the tow of Cody that took Dr. Powell's ashes to the top of Re Butte, Frank's chosen burial site, were drunk and his ashe fell out of the mule's pack. The ashes were not missed unt

[69] *Grand Encampment Herald*, Jan. 23, 1903.
[70] Foote, *Letters*, 57
[71] *Grand Encampment Herald*, Nov. 13, 1903.
[72] Foote, *Letters*, 55
[73] *Cody Enterprise*, Nov. 19, 1903.
[74] *Grand Encampment Herald*, Jan. 1, 1904.
[75] *Cody Enterprise*, Dec. 17, 1903.
[76] *Cody Enterprise*, July 13, 1905; *Grand Encampment Herald*, July 14, 1905; Cody Divorce transcripts, Wyoming State Archives Cheyenne.
[77] Foote, *Letters*, 63.
[78] *Wyoming Stockgrower and Farmer*, Nov. 29, 1905.
[79] *Wyoming Stockgrower and Farmer*, Dec. 6, 1905.
[80] Letter, Mrs. "Johnny" Baker to W.J. Koch, Sept. 28, 1950; letter, Millard J. Smith, M.D. to Koch, July 11, 1960.

he party reached the summit. A tracker backtrailed the urial party's route and most of them were found and roperly interred.[81]

Buffalo Bill and his blood-brother Powell became the ubjects of writer's historical inventions that in many ways ecame the facts of their lives. Cody used the facts that upported his incredible stature as a frontiersman to create pageant of the American Western frontier that educated he public about his ideals. His lessons remain ingrained n America's collective cultural conscious. In order for rank Powell to be worthy of being Buffalo Bill's best riend, they created "White Beaver." Both entities be- ame commercial propositions that took off and turned on heir creators, but one of the indisputable facts about David ranklin "White Beaver" Powell, M.D., Medicine Chief f the Winnebago, is that less than a decade after Custer's efeat at the Little Big Horn, the people of La Crosse, isconsin's second largest city at that time, elected a otorious "Injun" for their mayor.

Frank Powell and Bill Cody, however, were not alone hen they used the West for personal gain. Many of their ontemporaries such as Charlie Russell, Fred Remington, wen Wister, and Theodore Roosevelt also exploited the ublic's fascination with the settlement of the West - the ebirth of a nation maimed by a terrible civil war.

"White Beaver" Powell and "Buffalo Bill" Cody ere business partners in several enterprises that either ailed or never got off the ground. Buffalo Bill rewrote rank Powell's sordid past, financially backed White eaver and gave him a home and a dignified exit when rank needed it most. Frank Powell reciprocated. Powell nd Cody's friendship grew from a mutual love for their ellow human and a desire to contribute to the development f their country - they did their best within the confines of eir tumultuous culture.

Self-important scoffers continually pick at "Buffalo ill" and "White Beaver" because they are easy targets; it makes a small person feel equal or superior to them, without having to live up to their standards or acknowledge their compassion for their fellow being. A person who attended Powell's Fourth of July Picnic in 1885 said, "Time and again I have seen him hug little colored boys and girls, and papooses and dirty faced little urchins playing in the streets. Neither race, nationality nor condition of clothing or face made any difference to the doctor - he simply loved them all and showed no discrimination.[82]

Annie Oakley's eulogy for her friend Bill Cody might also apply to his friend Frank Powell. It may seem strange that after the wonderful success attained that he should have died a poor man. But it is not a matter of wonder to those who knew him and worked with him. The same qualities that assured success also insured his ultimate poverty. His generosity and kind-hearted attitude toward all comers, his sympathy and his broad understanding of human nature, made it the simplest thing possible to handle men... I never saw him in any situation that changed his natural attitude a scintilla. None could possibly tell the difference between his reception of a band of cowboys and the train of an emperor... a teepee or a palace were all the same to him, and so were their inhabitants.[83]

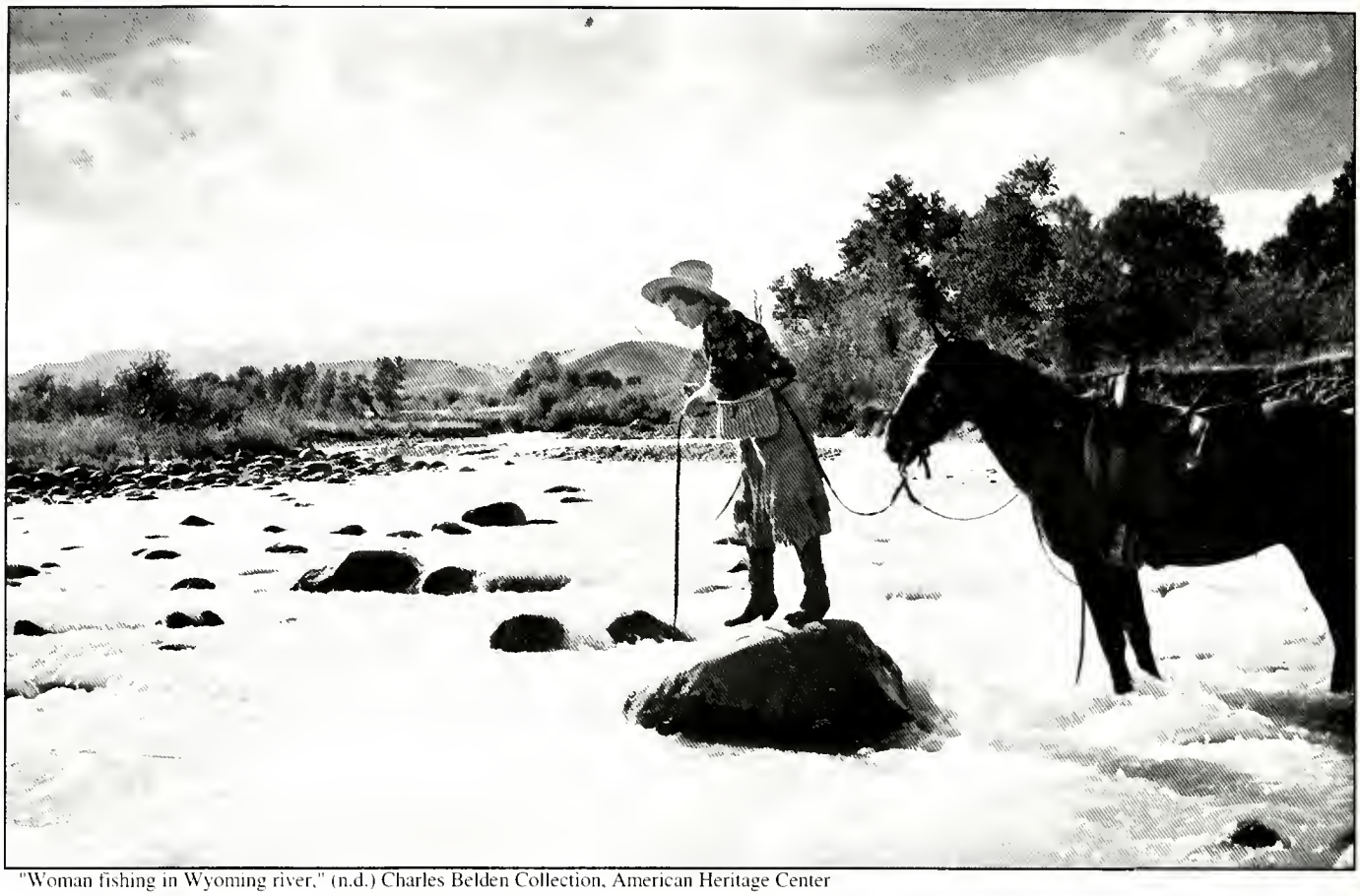
It has been stated that a person who dies and leaves two blades of grass where on their birth only one existed has not lived in vain - Buffalo Bill and White Beaver left lawns.

[81] Pioneer Cemetery and Grave Inventory Form; unpublished article, "Where Rests Major Powell?;" taped interview of Jack Richard, all held in the collections of the Park County Historical Society, Cody, Wyoming.

[82] *La Crosse Tribune*, March 16, 1961, quoting "A Boy of 1885" who wrote his memories of Dr. Powell for the *Morning Chronicle* on July 4, (?) 1915.

[83] As quoted by Isabelle Sayers, *Annie Oakley and Buffalo Bill's Wild West* (New York: Dover Publications, 1981).

Author Eric V. Sorg holds a masters degree in American Studies from the University of Wyoming. He has appeared internationally performing his one-man show "Cody! An Evening with Buffalo Bill." He has appeared at such museums as the Buffalo Bill Historical Center, the Amon Carter Museum, the National Cowboy Hall of Fame, and the Gene Autry Western Heritage Museum. Sorg has published on Dr. Powell in popular magazines and is completing work on a full-length biography.



"Woman fishing in Wyoming river," (n.d.) Charles Belden Collection, American Heritage Center

Announcing the 1996 Wyoming Historical Calendar!

Published this year by the Wyoming State Historical Society, in cooperation with the American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, the calendar takes a month-to-month look at the history of outdoor recreation in Wyoming with photographs of mountain climbers, hunters, tourists, and other adventurers.
Featured this year are the photographs of well-known Wyoming photographers Charles Belden and Steven Leek.
The calendar includes a brief "anniversary" for every day of the year.

The 1996 Wyoming Historical Calendar is $5.95 plus postage and handling (Wyoming residents should include sales tax). Proceeds from the calendar go to the Wyoming State Historical Society to fund Society projects.
Order from your local chapter or write to:

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Wyoming HISTORY JOURNAL

Autumn 1995, Vol. 67, No. 2

Important Information about your Wyoming State Historical Society

Wyoming State Historical Society dues have gone up. There are several reasons, but the biggest factor is the decision by Wyoming's state government not to continue participation in the cooperative relationship that has existed between the state and the society since 1953.

While the dues increase may seem substantial, it's important to remember that Wyoming State Historical Society dues are still among the very lowest in the region, and the benefits of membership are substantial.

***Wyoming History Journal:** Your state historical society has committed to the production of the journal as a quarterly. This isn't a casual undertaking. The printing and mailing of a quality journal requires a significant investment. And remember this: The existence of Wyoming History Journal encourages research, interpretation, and preservation of Wyoming history that might otherwise be lost.

***Wyoming History News:** Your state historical society took over production of the organization's newsletter five years ago and continues the publication because it provides current information about the activities of chapters around the state, it recognizes the achievements and contributions of individual members, and it alerts members to upcoming history-related events. It also provides a forum through which you can network with others across the state and the region to obtain information for your research projects. As a member you have received ten issues of Wyoming History News every year and that will continue in the year ahead despite increases in paper and mailing costs.

***History Treks & Events:** Each year your state historical society stages a summer trek to places of historical interest, and an annual meeting where presentations and discussions of Wyoming history topics are featured. In recent years members have retraced the Oregon Trail from Green River crossing to Fort Bridger, participated in a symposium featuring some of the most notable researchers on the history of Butch Cassidy, visited the places where the Johnson County Cattle War took place, and stood on the site where Willie Nickel died after being shot, allegedly by Tom Horn. Next year's trek will take members to Newcastle and the site of the Cambria Mine, one of the most colorful chapters in Wyoming's rich mining history.

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***Wyoming History Day:** Hundreds and hundreds of Wyoming school children participate each year in history projects and compete at district, state, and national history day events. Through these activities they develop an appreciation of the importance of history that will be a part of them for the rest of their lives. It was the state historical society that started the event in Wyoming, and it is the state historical society that provides the majority of the financial support needed to continue Wyoming History Day. Your membership in the state historical society helps Wyoming's young people continue their study and understanding our state's history.

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Cover Art

"Green River-Rocky Mountains and Railroad Bridge," illustration from *The Union Pacific Railroad: A Trip Across the North American Continent from Omaha to Ogden*, a Nelsons' Pictorial Guide Book (ca. 1870).

Wyoming History Journal is published by the Wyoming State Historical Society in cooperation with the American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, and the Department of History, University of Wyoming. The journal was formerly known as the *Quarterly Bulletin* (1923-25), *Annals of Wyoming* (1925-1993) and *Wyoming Annals* (1993-1995). The journal has been the official publication of the Wyoming State Historical Society since 1953. The Co-Editors of *Wyoming History Journal* welcome manuscripts on every aspect of Wyoming and Western history. Authors should submit manuscripts on diskettes utilizing Word Perfect, Microsoft Word or ASCII text, and two copies double-spaced hard copy to: *Wyoming History Journal*, P. O. Box 4256, University Station, Laramie, WY 82071. Manuscripts should conform to *A Manual of Style* (University of Chicago Press). Authors are responsible for the interpretation in their articles. Manuscripts are refereed by members of the Board of Editors and others. The co-editors make decisions regarding publication.

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My One Hobby: Grace Raymond Hebard and Americanization in Wyoming

By Frank Van Nuys

Dr. Hebard and unidentified student. American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming

Of all Grace Hebard's accomplishments, she reportedly valued her Americanization work as "perhaps most precious."

A highly ironic and bemusing scene may have entertained the Sisters at St. Mary's Convent in Notre Dame, Indiana, in the winter of 1924; namely, the sight of one of the nuns leafing through the February issue of *Today's Housewife* magazine. History does not record where and how the good Sister perused this seemingly inappropriate publication, nor are those questions important. Fortunately, a letter from Sister M. Veronica to Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard of the University of Wyoming tells why—perhaps—the nun was particularly interested in such an irrelevant piece of literature. "I saw an account of your fine work in Americanization in *Today's Housewife* for February," she informed Dr. Hebard, "and it inspired me with a desire to do some such work as you are doing in that line."[1]

That Dr. Hebard's efforts in Americanization—the educating of immigrants in American history, politics, ideals and the English language in preparation for naturalization—brought her national renown during and after World War I is unusual. Wyoming had very few immigrants, in marked contrast to states such as New York or California. Nonetheless, Hebard's prowess as a maker of Americans made her a model for many other native-born Americans, like Sister M. Veronica in Indiana, who, whether in the interest of wartime patriotism or post-war nativistic anxiety, sought to create a more predictable, homogeneous America.

Of all Grace Hebard's accomplishments, which included service on the University of Wyoming Board of Trustees, a Ph.D. from Illinois Wesleyan University, admission to the Wyoming bar, the authorship of several historical monographs and textbooks, directorship of the university's department of political economy, and the marking of historical sites throughout the state, she reportedly valued her Americanization work as "perhaps most precious." The inspired Sister could not fail to note, as a *Wyoming News* testimonial expressed in 1935, that Dr. Hebard's "certificates of preparation for naturalization were accepted by the United States District Court in lieu of examinations for citizenship."[2] That sort of clout suggests that Grace Hebard's Americanization enterprise beginning in 1916 deserves some scrutiny. While the evidence of her work is fragmentary, it nonetheless places Hebard within an essentially progressive tradition of qualified optimism about immigrants' ability to assimilate to Anglo-American cultural norms. At the same time, her long-held ideological assumptions about immigrants, especially the "new" immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, led her to express extreme concern—altogether typical of American opinion makers and political leaders during the World War I era—about speeding up the assimilative process.

While Dr. Hebard's involvement with Americanization in Wyoming began relatively late in her career, evidence of her interest in educating immigrants dates from at least 1896, when she published an article titled "Immigration and Needed Ballot Reform" in *The Illinois Wesleyan Magazine*. "The danger which threatens us," she warned, "is the growth in our population of a large foreign element whose habits of thought and behavior are radically different from those which the founders of the nation hoped to establish."

This contention that "Southern and Eastern Europeans" lacked the necessary requisites to simply ease into the American social and economic order without somehow disrupting it constituted conventional wisdom in the 1890s. Notably, Hebard cited the famed economist and statistician Francis Amasa Walker, whose writings during that decade gave intellectual credence to nativists for years to come. She expressed as well the very common alarm that this class of immigrants, while certainly possessed of some desirable individuals, had a tendency to produce anarchists and rebels. Yet Hebard, convinced of the transforming powers of education, suggested a means to forestall otherwise inevitable and irrevocable damage to the republic. Thus she concluded,

> the only way in which we can protect ourselves is to educate this heterogeneous mass, so blind to the duties of patriotism that they are unable to distinguish the red flag, typical of society unregulated by any principles of government, from the red, white and blue—a perfect national emblem. We must change this mass into a homogeneous population, and this can be accomplished only by grafting into the hearts of the aliens who have determined to make these lands their lands, the highest conception of citizenship, the reverence for a constitution which gives them their liberties."[3]

[1] Sister M. Veronica to Grace Raymond Hebard, March 14, 1924, Grace Raymond Hebard papers, Box 35, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming (hereafter cited as Hebard papers).

[2] *The Wyoming News*, August 3, 1935, clipping in Box 35, Hebard papers; see also Cora M. Beach, *Women of Wyoming* (Casper, Wyo.: S. E. Boyer & Co., 1927), 122.

[3] Grace Raymond Hebard, "Immigration and Needed Ballot Reform," *The Illinois Wesleyan Magazine*, October 1896, 230, in box 33, Hebard papers; for Francis Amasa Walker's views see his *Discussions in Economics and Statistics*, 2 vols., ed. Davis R. Dewey (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1899).

Dr. Hebard's sentiments in the mid-1890s coincided with a growing movement, centered in the big cities of the northeast and midwest, to indeed assimilate immigrants through intensive education in American history, politics, and ideology.

When so defined as an "educative movement," Americanization, according to political scientist Edward George Hartmann in his 1948 study, implied "a positive program" in contrast to other nativist movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Americanization also reflected the more hopeful reform impulses embodied in the Progressive movement. Its leadership drawn typically from academia, business, and civic groups, Americanization stressed "education and guidance" rather than "restriction or repression" in meeting the challenges posed to the nation by increasing immigration from southern and eastern Europe. Successful integration of these presumably "less desirable" Europeans into a presumably Anglo-American culture promised economic and political stability as well as a valuable labor supply and Americanizers generally expressed optimism concerning the immigrants' "ultimate assimilative capabilities." Moreover, they earnestly desired to assimilate the immigrants as rapidly as possible "through the attendance of the newcomers at special classes, lectures, and mass meetings, where they might be instructed in the language, the ideals, and outlook on life which had come to be accepted as the traditional American point of view."[4]

Immigrant night classes, typically operated by settlement house reformers and social workers, began appearing in larger cities in the first decade of the twentieth century. Similar operations sprang up in labor camps and some non-urban areas. Soon thereafter, patriotic organizations, starting with the National Society of Colonial Dames of America, whose Illinois chapter established a University of Chicago scholarship in 1904 for training Americanizers, took the lead in immigrant education. The National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, as another example, formed a Committee on Information for Aliens, which published leaflets meant to aid newly-arrived immigrants. Quickly superseding and often coordinating the efforts of the patriotic organizations, the North American Civic League for Immigrants became, with its organization in New York City in 1907, the "first of the active Americanization groups." Explicitly nonsectarian and composed primarily of "progressive business elements," the North American Civic League for Immigrants concerned itself with the efficiency and comportment of the immigrant labor force. The League organized immigrant aid centers at its base in Boston, as well as in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Los Angeles, and other towns in the northeast. It also prodded expanded Americanization efforts from public schools and provided lectures and pamphlets.[5]

In 1907, New Jersey became the first state to authorize school boards to direct evening classes for immigrants, establishing a precedent for growing government involvement. The exhaustive studies conducted by the Federal Immigration Commission furthered the trend for states with large concentrations of foreign-born residents to create agencies to address immigration-related problems. New York State's Bureau of Industries and Immigration, the California Commission of Immigration and Housing, and similar bodies in New Jersey, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island endeavored to investigate conditions and suggest legislation as well as to propose and in some cases implement Americanization programs.[6]

Meanwhile, industrialists in the northeast, in alliance with the North American Civic League for Immigrants, hoped to influence immigrant workers away from radicalism. They, like the patriotic organizations and government commissions, believed "that some sort of program for educating the immigrant, particularly in the fundamentals of the English language and civics, would be the best means of solving the many evils supposedly arising from his entrance upon the American scene."[7] Conse-

[4] Edward George Hartmann, *The Movement to Americanize the Immigrant* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948; reprint, New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1967), 7–8; see also Robert A. Carlson, "Americanization as an Early Twentieth-Century Adult Education Movement," *History of Education Quarterly* 10 (Winter 1970): 440–64, which concentrates on the distinctions and relationships between humanitarian, social control, and efficiency concepts in Americanization; John F. McClymer, "The Americanization Movement and the Education of the Foreign-Born Adult," in *American Education and the European Immigrant: 1840–1940*, ed. Bernard J. Weiss (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 96–116, qualifies Hartmann's sanguine interpretation considerably by arguing that Americanizers politicized cultural differences through their rigid definitions of loyalty. Another interpretation emphasizes Americanizing influences, often of a radical bent, that immigrants derived from their own working-class culture. See James R. Barrett, "Americanization from the Bottom Up: Immigration and the Remaking of the Working Class in the United States, 1880–1930," *Journal of American History* 79 (December 1992): 996–1020.

[5] Hartmann, 24–63. Chicago's Immigrants' Protective League, organized in 1908, provided services similar to those offered by the North American Civic League. See Rivka Lissak, "Liberal Progressives and 'New Immigrants': The Immigrants' Protective League of Chicago, 1908–1919," *Studies in American Civilization* 32 (1987): 79–103.

[6] Hartmann, 36, 64–87.

[7] Ibid., 88–96, quote on 24. There are a number of important studies of workplace Americanization; see, for instance, Gerd Korman, "Americanization at the Factory Gate," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 18 (1965): 396–419 and Stephen Meyer, "Adapting the Immigrant to the Line: Americanization in the Ford Factory, 1914–1921," *Journal of Social History* 14 (1980): 67–82.

quently, corporate involvement in "industrial Americanization" developed steadily after 1910, overseen to some extent by the Committee on Immigration of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. Although obviously lacking an industrial economy on the order of many northeastern and midwestern states, Wyoming, as indicated by the Immigration Commission's survey of immigrant miners in Sweetwater and Uinta counties, possessed similar problems. At the seven coal and coke mines studied by the Commission, nearly 86 percent of the employees were foreign-born, with a "large percentage" from southern and eastern Europe. "Only about half of the foreign-born of non-English-speaking races," the commission reported, "speak English, and of those who are eligible in point of race and residence only about one-third have become citizens." Implied, though not explicitly expressed in the report, is the presumption that immigrant workers "slow to learn English" and even slower to become naturalized made up a combustible, potentially radical element in southwestern Wyoming's mines.[8]

American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming

Dr. Hebard poses with "a German, an Irishman, and an Englishman," outside the Albany County Courthouse, following their naturalization on March 8, 1917.

The shared concerns of patriotic organizations, government entities, and businessmen drove the continuing centralization of the Americanization movement between 1910 and 1914, the year in which the New York-New Jersey Committee of the North American Civic League for Immigrants changed its name to the Committee for Immigrants in America. The Committee, soon to become "the general consulting headquarters for immigrant and Americanization work throughout the country," provided the impetus, as well as initial funding and staffing for the newly-created Division of Immigrant Education in the Department of Interior's Bureau of Education. In addition, the Department of Labor's Bureau of Naturalization, in conjunction with various public schools around the country, began sponsoring citizenship education in 1914 and holding discussions "upon a proposed nation-wide plan for citizenship preparedness through the Americanization of the resident alien body." In preparing her citizenship courses, Dr. Hebard relied to a considerable extent upon publications produced by these official Americanization bodies.[9]

With the outbreak of war in Europe in the autumn of 1914, interest in Americanization, helped along by suspicions of immigrant disloyalty, began taking on attributes of a national public crusade. Propagandizing on behalf of the warring nations by immigrant groups exacerbated the suspicions, though the actions of the German government and assertive German-American organizations combined to bring most of the nativist wrath crashing upon the heads of many Americans of German descent. Attacks on the "Hyphen," defined by Hartmann as "one who put the interests of his former homeland before those of his adopted country," combined with exhortations about preparedness to lend a nationalistic flavor to the Americanization movement. Former President Theodore Roosevelt boisterously led the rhetorical assault on "those evil enemies of America, the hyphenated Americans." Careful to qualify his remarks on behalf of loyal Americans of foreign birth, Roosevelt nonetheless warned of dire consequences should the United States "become a tangle of squabbling nationalities, an intricate knot of German-Americans, Irish-Americans, English-Americans, French-Americans, Scandinavian-Americans, or Italian-Ameri-

[8] Hartmann, 146–53; Reports of the Immigration Commission, *Immigrants in Industries*, Part 25: Japanese and Other Immigrant Races in the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain States, vol. 3, 61st Cong., 2d sess., S. Doc. 633, serial 5684-3 (Washington: GPO, 1911), 279–92, 327–40, 665–69, quotes on 281, 292.

[9] Hartmann, 97–104, quotes on 97, 103; McClymer, "Americanization Movement and Education," 99–103; McClymer, "The Federal Government and the Americanization Movement, 1915–1924," *Prologue: The Journal of the National Archives* 10 (Spring 1978): 22–41; see Naturalization vertical files, folder 3, American Heritage Center (AHC), for Committee for Immigrants in America and Bureau of Education publications.

cans." Meanwhile, in his many speeches on national preparedness, President Woodrow Wilson repeatedly stressed the need for unqualified allegiance to the country.[10]

In the midst of the anti-hyphenate and preparedness rhetoric in 1915–1916, the education of the immigrant became an even larger concern. The Bureau of Naturalization further centralized Americanization training through the public schools, kicking off its ambitious nationwide program at a reception in Philadelphia. President Wilson, in his "Too Proud to Fight" speech given to several thousand freshly naturalized citizens at the event, admonished: "You cannot dedicate yourself to America unless you become in every respect and with every purpose of your will thorough Americans." Proper guidance by properly trained Americanizers would hopefully assure that immigrants would soon appreciate Wilson's contention that "America does not consist of groups."[11]

Likewise, opinion molders in Wyoming, whether aware of the Bureau of Naturalization's program or not, harped on the theme of teaching immigrants to discard their Old World ways and become unadulterated Americans. Cora B. Wanamaker, in her *Rock Springs Rocket*, citing "crime, sickness, poverty, unemployment and education," expressed alarm at the cost of "maintaining the foreigner in our cities." Education comprised too small a portion of those expenses and the elimination of immigrant illiteracy in English, Wanamaker suggested, could obviate "the enormous cost of not educating the alien." Once naturalized, the *Sheridan Post* observed, these new "citizens must show their good faith and loyalty—.If others have came [sic] to us in mockery of the sacred rights, the sooner they return from whence they came the better for all the others."[12]

Augmenting the Bureau of Naturalization's agenda, the Committee for Immigrants in America organized an Americanization Day celebration to take place across the nation on July 4, 1915. A National Americanization Day Committee designed the event to both welcome immigrants and stress national unity. Buoyed by their Independence Day successes the National Americanization Day Committee continued as a national clearinghouse under the new rubric of the National Americanization Committee (NAC) until 1919. The NAC sponsored Immigration and Americanization conferences and also solicited women's clubs and the Daughters of the American Revolution.[13]

American entry into the War in April 1917 quite naturally caused the Americanization crusade at home to intensify. All of the various entities—the Committee for Immigrants in America and National Americanization Committee, the Bureau of Education, the Bureau of Naturalization, the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, state and local chambers and governments, churches, women's clubs, the YMCA, and patriotic organizations—busily drafted plans, organized conferences, conducted surveys, and exhorted both teachers and immigrants to do their duty. As the movement blended into the war effort, the Council of National Defense and the Committee for Public Information—federal agencies created especially for the emergency—joined the already crowded field of Americanization organizations. Attempts to federalize immigrant education through the creation of a bureau of citizenship and Americanization failed in large part because of increasing friction between the Bureaus of Education and Naturalization.[14]

Of more moment to immigrants, however, were the increasing heavy-handedness of certain patriotic Americans and some dissatisfied rumblings within ethnic communities. While war propagandists staged pageants and parades designed to emphasize the harmonious commingling of the nation's heterogeneous elements, the war itself, as historian Ellis W. Hawley has shown, drove "ethnocultural conflict." Restive ethnic groups, including African Americans, indicated a decreasing willingness to acquiesce in their subordination to the dominant Anglo-American culture. Meanwhile, the distrust of "hyphenated Americans," especially Germans, reached shrill and even murderous levels in some sections of the nation. Finally, "a repressive loyalty apparatus" emerged, goaded on by federal anti-subversion legislation and aided by state loyalty agencies and defense councils, as well as private vigilante groups.[15]

These negative forces, manifested in anti-hyphenism and preparedness in 1915 and 1916, were transformed into "100 Per Cent Americanism" with United States entry into the war. As John Higham defined it, 100

[10] Hartmann, 105–07; John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1955), 195–204; David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 63–69; Theodore Roosevelt, Fear God and Take Your Own Part, in vol. 18, *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, National Edition (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), 278, 392; Woodrow Wilson, *The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson: The New Democracy*, 2 vols., eds. Ray Stannard Baker and William E. Dodd (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1926).

[11] Hartmann, 108–10; Wilson, 319.

[12] *Rock Springs Rocket*, May 23, 1916; *Sheridan Post*, June 16, 1916.

[13] Hartmann, 112–40.

[14] Ibid., 164–215. On labor unions' Americanization approaches during the war, see Barrett, "Americanization from the Bottom Up," 1014–18.

[15] Ellis W. Hawley, *The Great War and the Search for a Modern Order: A History of the American People and Their Institutions, 1917–1933* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979), 11–15, 27–30.

percent Americanism meant "universal conformity organized through total national loyalty" and the "inculcation of a spirit of duty," especially "the enthusiastic cultivation of obedience and conformity." Not surprisingly, this sort of super-nationalism required a ratcheting up of anti-German hysteria—rumors of conspiracies, attacks on German culture, violence against German Americans, internment camps, and spying. Harassment and arrests of putatively pro-German individuals occurred in Wyoming, often under the guise of quasi-official actions undertaken by 100 Percent American Clubs, vigilance committees, and Loyalty Leagues.[16]

Despite 100 percentism, Higham found, the "average non-German alien passed through 1917 and 1918 unscathed by hatred, and often touched by sympathy." Nonetheless, the "impulse for unity crashed against the plain, frightening fact that the new immigrants lived in a social universe so remote from that of the Americans on the other side of the tracks that they knew practically nothing of one another." In some disagreement with Higham, Lawrence Cardoso, in specific reference to Wyoming, stressed that 100 percentism fed nativist fears of all immigrants, not just Germans. Regardless, Americanizers often found themselves distressed both by the German-Americans' presumably divided loyalties and the new immigrants' "apartness." For instance, Dr. Hebard, in an address to Cheyenne women in March 1918, paid tribute to "faithful Germans" but also sounded a Rooseveltian note: "There is no such thing as an American-German. Either they are for us or against, and they can not be both American and German." An appropriate Wyoming example of the prevailing attitude toward immigrants in general appeared in a *Laramie Daily Boomerang* editorial in October 1917. "In our easy going way for years," the *Boomerang* announced, "we have allowed foreigners to come to America, then draw off in groups where they live in conditions approximating the conditions of their native lands." Such neglect, the writer continued, caused the immigrants to become little nations within the nation, "With their own churches, their own newspapers, their own clubs, and often their own schools." Living and working in America, the immigrants had nonetheless left "their hearts abroad." "The hyphen," the editorial concluded, "should not be tolerated."[17]

In competition with the conformist approach to Americanizing the immigrants, liberal reformers strained to reconcile their softer methods with the need for wartime unity. Yet, as the war dragged on, the liberals' benign tactics gave way to the more coercive means preferred by the 100 percenters. After the war, immigrants, generally considered agreeable to the exertions of Americanizers, began expressing more resentment of Americanization, regardless of how administered. As for post-war Americanization itself, abject fear of communists, anarchists, and socialists drove the Red Scare of 1919–1920. The National Security League, an organization formed during the preparedness campaign prior to American involvement in the War, defined post-war Americanism as "the fighting of Bolshevism and other un-American tendencies by the creation of well-defined National Ideals."[18] Thus, immigrant education retained its unifying appeal and the national organizations and bureaus hoped support and money would continue. However, new federal legislation prohibited private backing for federal agencies, barring the National Americanization Committee from rendering financial assistance to the Bureau of Education's Division of Immigrant Education, which folded in 1919. The Bureau of Education subsequently incorporated its immigrant work into its adult education programs and its rival Bureau of Naturalization continued to oversee some Americanization endeavors in the interests of naturalization. Meanwhile, the states, in part impelled by the post-war hysteria, passed legislation to take up the slack. Wyoming, for instance, authorized its State Board of Education to organize Americanization classes through county school boards and establish teaching standards in 1921.[19]

State efforts to maintain the Americanizing momentum fell short, however, in the face of fading federal aid,

[16] T. A. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, 2d ed., rev. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), 400–01; Dale A. Poeske, "Wyoming in World War I" (M. A. thesis, University of Wyoming, 1968), 123–24; Lawrence A. Cardoso, "Nativism in Wyoming, 1868–1930: Changing Perceptions of Foreign Immigrants," *Annals of Wyoming* 58 (Spring 1986): 27–28. Many of the actions taken against Germans in Wyoming had official sanction, of course. See, for instance, the *Laramie Republican*, June 4, 1918, which published an announcement that "German alien females" were required by presidential proclamation to register with the chiefs of police or postmasters in all Wyoming cities and towns. The same paper ran a series of articles during the summer of 1918 by Clarence L. Speed of Casper, titled "Why We Fight." A series of questions with which Mr. Speed ended one such piece provides a good indication of the general tone of his endeavor: "Can we talk of peace with a Germany, that even in times of peace, is trying to disorganize our country, foment strife, and destroy our unity, simply because a strong, united nation on the other side of the world is not German? Can we make peace with a country that fills our land with paid emissaries in an effort to make its language supplant our own? Can we talk of peace while a government that considers the world its prey dominates Germany?" *Laramie Republican*, June 14, 1918.

[17] Higham, 204–215, quotes on 205–06, 215, 213; Cardoso, "Nativism in Wyoming," 28; *Wyoming Tribune*, March 2, 1918, in box 37, Hebard papers; *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, October 23, 1917.

[18] Hartmann, 218–19.

[19] Higham, 250–54; Hawley, 48–52; Hartmann, 225–52; Cardoso, "Nativism in Wyoming," 33; Frances Birkhead Beard, ed., *Wyoming From Territorial Days to the Present* (Chicago: The American Historical Society, 1933), 1:628.

the disappearance of supportive private groups, immigration restriction, post-war economic recession, the return to "normalcy" and growing indifference. Despite the Americanizers' efforts, Hartmann concluded in his study, "the number of immigrants who became Americanized along the formal lines advocated by the Americanization groups must have been small, indeed, when compared with the great bulk of their fellows who never saw the inside of an American schoolroom or settlement house." Gradual assimilation remained the norm, while immigrant education, generally, was absorbed into adult education programs.[20]

Turning now to a more specific consideration of Grace Hebard and her Americanization work in Wyoming, it is appropriate to return to her 1896 article for *Illinois Wesleyan Magazine*. Her discussion of the immigrant problem provides considerable insight into a well-developed ideology of American nationalism. At the outset, Hebard made clear the crucial and obvious legacy of immigration to the United States. "To whom do we owe our Nation's unparalleled success?" she asked. "Certainly not," the future author of *Sacajawea* responded, "to the native tribes which have resisted civilization ever since Columbus claimed the land by right of discovery. No, no, it is not to them; it is to the immigrants." With the aid of a table showing the number and nationality of immigrants in 1882, 1891, and 1892, Hebard proceeded to point out the large increases in immigration from Russia, Poland, Italy, and other southern and eastern European sources. Then, in an assertion she believed "apparent" from "these figures," Dr. Hebard stated "that the *quality* of this immigration is deteriorating." As a result, she concluded in a manner typical of late nineteenth century American writings on immigration, "vast numbers of people unfamiliar with our habits or political thoughts and actions" would become voters and low-wage competitors with "our workingmen."[21]

As she continued, Hebard's rhetoric took on a more derogatory tone. After lauding the pre-1870 immigration as sufficiently composed of the "better classes," Hebard lamented: "today we are receiving the dregs of all nations. America has been well called the dumping ground for all of the old world, and from this steaming heap of refuse population made up of the scum of communities, we see arising hideous disease, debasing crime, drod and drivel of the asylums, degrading pauperism and bloody rebellion, and in place of citizenship, anarchy and socialism." A far cry, indeed, from the sentiments etched at the base of the Statue of Liberty. Pausing to suggest the educational remedy needed to homogenize these motley hordes, Hebard suggested that without citizenship, there could be no patriotism. On the other hand, the overwhelming numbers of virtually unassimilable immigrants posed a logistical problem in training "the incomers into ethical harmony with the fundamental principles of its [America's] own individual life." "The great ship of State—citizenship," she cautioned, "is not overcrowded, but there is a superabundance of steerage passengers." Finally, Dr. Hebard decried the nation's "loose naturalization laws," which, she claimed, put too much political power "into the hands of ignorant voters" and "their often unscrupulous leaders." "There should be a Department of Naturalization," she suggested, because the seriousness of the problem demanded cabinet-level attention. Furthermore, "In each state there should be one officer responsible to the Secretary of Naturalization." Hebard had other suggestions, including the imposition of educational and property qualifications for voters, before closing her article.[22] What is interesting from a historical perspective is both the harshness of her descriptions of the new immigrants and the occasional glimmer of optimism that education—albeit in tandem with severe restrictions on the number of such immigrants allowed into the country—can transform most of them into desirable citizens.

There is no clear evidence that Dr. Hebard applied her intense interest in naturalization and immigration issues in a practical way before 1916. It is probable, though, that she treated her classes in sociology and political economy at the University of Wyoming to discourses resonant of her 1896 article.[23] For the period after January 1916, however, one can find numerous clippings, letters, and references to Americanization in Dr. Hebard's papers. Between January and April of that year, she requested and received a number of documents from the Committee on Immigrants in America and other entities for her Sociology class. In May, she wrote Paul Lee Ellerbe, the Chief Naturalization Examiner in the Bureau of Naturalization's

[20] Hartmann, 264–73, quote on 271; For speculation concerning how many immigrants enrolled in and attended Americanization classes between 1914 and 1925, see McClymer, "Americanization Movement and Education," 102–05; Higham, 254–63. James R. Barrett argues that most immigrants were acculturated through participation in the labor movement, the objectives of which were often antithetical to the official Americanization groups. Barrett, 1011.

[21] Hebard, 226, 228–29, italics in the original.

[22] Ibid., 229, 231–34, 238–43.

[23] "Immigration" was one of the topics listed in a description of the Department of Political Economy's "Sociology and Social Problems" course in pre-war catalogues. See, for example, "Catalogue, 1914," *University of Wyoming Bulletin* 11 (Laramie: University of Wyoming, April 1914), 95.

Denver office, having noticed his reference to citizenship training for foreigners in a Cheyenne newspaper, and asked him for more printed material. "If I were living in Cheyenne," she closed, "I would be very glad to offer my services for Saturday evening teaching of this subject."[24]

As it turned out, not living in Cheyenne did not prevent Dr. Hebard from ultimately offering her services. Having followed with keen interest the developing national push for Americanization, Hebard, by the autumn of 1916, felt prepared to bring the issue before Wyoming's citizenry. In the weeks leading up to an early October address on the "Americanization of the Immigrant" presented to the Wyoming Federation of Women's Clubs (WFWC) in Sheridan, she also busied herself with a plan to involve the University of Wyoming in an Americanization program in Laramie. The city's public schools had evidently ignored the Bureau of Naturalization's prodding to start night classes for immigrants, so Hebard, in consultation with Chief Examiner Ellerbe, District Court Judge Volney J. Tidball, and University President Clyde A. Duniway, began laying the foundation for the classes. In addition the president of the University's YMCA expressed to Dr. Hebard his organization's willingness "to take up this work of helping to instruct the Immigrant." Ellerbe agreed with Hebard that securing the cooperation of such groups as Wyoming's women's clubs and the university's YMCA would be helpful, but in specific reference to Laramie, he felt that "After it [the class] is started it will be a one-man job and will not take much time at that."[25]

In Sheridan, Hebard first enlightened the clubwomen upon the fundamental differences between the class of immigrants—"advanced in industry, skilled in agriculture, and above the average in intelligence"—which had once predominated with those now coming from "southeast continental Europe," who were "less educated—not skilled in industry," impoverished, and lacking in ambition. "Americanization and citizenship are two identical words to the majority of the American born citizens," she then pointed out, yet "Under conditions as they now exist, the two words are as far apart as the North and South pole." "The alien," Hebard continued, "should be made to feel that citizenship is a favor and not a right" and, happily, the "immigrants are not only ready to be taught, but beg that they may have instructions." Finally, she made her appeal, noting first that the public schools were already in use for Americanization training throughout the country yet implying that the schools alone could not adequately instruct every citizenship candidate that sought "enlightenment." "I am wondering if I may," she said, "this evening make an appeal to you to help Americanize the immigrant citizen, that he may be a more intelligent and better citizen and in this way we may have an unparallel[ed] preparedness in time of foreign conflict." Hebard's talk struck a responsive chord among her fellow Federation members and they passed a resolution (drafted by Hebard) in support of Americanization.[26]

That same weekend in Sheridan, in addition to attending the WFWC convention, Dr. Hebard participated in the annual meeting of the State Library Association and presided as State Regent at the Wyoming DAR conference. In her report to the DAR, Hebard quite eloquently referred to her anxiety about immigrants in recommending a DAR role in Americanization:

> I have but one final recommendation to make and I make this because we are distinctly a patriotic society, and have ancestors who were born so long ago that they are no longer classed as immigrants. This is an earnest plea from me that we try to do something toward the education of the alien, who comes to our shores of liberty and freedom, not only in helping him to read our language, but in understanding our form of government. We cannot Americanize immigrants by simply making citizens of them and allowing them to vote; they must be taught to know what it is to be Americanized, and this can only be brought about by the understanding of our customs and our government. The poor alien does not know, often, what is required by our laws, and often becomes a criminal from ignorance of our laws. May we not take an active part in co-operating with the Judges of the District Court of Wyoming, who grants [sic] citizenship to aliens, in helping the immigrant to a better understanding of the principles for which our government stands, and the technicalities of our government. Incidentally in helping them, we can gleam glimpses of light ourselves. This is a matter very near to my heart, because it is a subject which I teach, and I believe the more you go into the matter, the more vital you will realize that this is a part of the education needed by the alien who has become a citizen and who has not become an American.[27]

[24] For the January through April 1916 letters to the Committee on Immigrants in America, et. al., see Naturalization vertical files, folder 4, AHC; Grace Raymond Hebard to Paul Lee Ellerbe, May 10, 1916, in folder 4.

[25] Quotes from Grace Raymond Hebard to Paul Lee Ellerbe, September 20, 1916 and Ellerbe to Hebard, September 25, 1916; see also Hebard to Honorable V. J. Tidball, September 15, 1916; Hebard to Ellerbe, September 15, 1916, all in Naturalization vertical files, folder 4, AHC.

[26] Grace Raymond Hebard, "Americanization of the Immigrant," typewritten draft of speech given at Sheridan, Wyoming, October 6, 1916, before Wyoming Federation of Women's Clubs, in Naturalization vertical files, folder 3, AHC. Hebard used this text, with only minor modifications, in many subsequent Americanization talks and also published it as an article in the *General Federation of Women's Clubs Magazine* for February 1917, a copy of which is in folder 3; "Resolutions Adopted by the Thirteenth Annual Convention of the Wyoming Federation of Women's Clubs Held at Sheridan, Wyoming, October 4–6, 1916," in Naturalization files, folder 1; see Hebard's reference to resolution in Hebard to Ellerbe, October 13, 1916, folder 4; *Sheridan Post*, October 6, 10, 1916.

[27] Daughters of the American Revolution of Wyoming, report dated Sheridan, Wyoming, October 4, 1916, in Box 1, DAR file, Hebard papers; Sheridan Post, October 6, 1916.

"The iron is hot," Hebard wrote Ellerbe after her successful weekend in Sheridan, "and I believe can be welded into a satisfactory shape, if you will tell me what to do, and let me know what you can do." In reply, Ellerbe suggested persuading public schools in sections of the state with "an appreciable proportion of alien population to install classes in citizenship." He hoped to see classes started "at once" in Cheyenne, Laramie, Rawlins, Sundance, Casper, Sheridan, Rock Springs, Newcastle, and Kemmerer. Ellerbe later journeyed to Laramie to discuss citizenship education for immigrants with University president Clyde Duniway. Ellerbe's visit was, according to a letter he wrote to the *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, a follow-up to a conversation he held with Dr. Hebard in September, during which he "found her enthusiastically interested in the subject." Despite the small number of immigrant residents in Albany County, Ellerbe believed, as did Judge Tidball, that "the need for such a class is nevertheless very real." As the Laramie public schools had failed to act upon the Bureau's request to implement an adult immigrant education program, President Duniway informed Ellerbe "that the University of Wyoming would undertake the conduct of a citizenship class," to be taught by Dr. Hebard. Ellerbe informed the professor that he would furnish to her the names of those filing petitions for naturalization. He also suggested that Hebard arrange with Frank J. Ihmsen, Clerk of the District Court in Laramie, to refer declarants and petitioners directly to her.[28]

American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming

The Teesdales, a newly naturalized family, in front of the Albany County Courthouse on March 8, 1917

Thus, Grace Raymond Hebard became Albany County's official Americanizer. Her crusading zeal fairly leaps out of letters written in the weeks following the establishment of the class. "This Americanization work, in which I am vitally interested," she informed a Mrs. David, "is to me what a great deal of church work is to other people. I wish to make it a religion, for a time at least. My idea is that one cannot be a real christian until he is a patriot." To Mrs. Walter McNab Miller in New York City, Hebard noted her intention to get the state's public schools to ultimately take on the work, then gushed, "I love the work because it is along the line of citizenship and this is my one hobby. I only wish I might be able to do national work on this account." The first letters to prospective students went out on December 1, 1916.[29]

A spring 1917 article from a National American Woman Suffrage Association publication, the *National Suffrage News*, and documents housed in the University of Wyoming's American Heritage Center provide a glimpse at how Hebard's classes actually operated. Judge Tidball, a former Hebard pupil, issued the order giving her the right to conduct the classes. Moreover, her students' certificates of examination eliminated the need for a court-room examination, "an infinite relief to the foreigners, who find a court examination under strange surroundings a trying, sometimes even a disastrous ordeal." Nonetheless, at the district court on March 8, 1917—with one of Dr. Hebard's Sociology classes on hand—Judge Tidball and naturalization examiner Frederick C. Emmerich quizzed the professor's three foreign students. Afterwards, Tidball expressed his wish that "all native-born Americans could answer the questions as well, and with as full understanding."[30]

Hebard's initial citizenship course covered ten weeks—two hours of class one evening each week—during that winter, "a severe test," the article presumed, "of the

[28] Hebard to Ellerbe, October 9, 1916, and Ellerbe to Hebard, October 11, 1916, in Naturalization files, folder 4; *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, October 25, 1916, clipping in Box 37, Hebard papers; Ellerbe to Hebard, October 23, 1916, Naturalization files, folder 4. Ellerbe to Hebard, October 11, 1916, Naturalization files, folder 4. See also Hebard to Richard K. Campbell (Commissioner of Naturalization, U.S. Department of Labor), October 31, 1916, also in folder 4. On cooperation between the Bureau of Naturalization's chief examiners and local judges see McClymer, "Federal Government and Americanization Movement," 36.

[29] Hebard to Mrs. David, November 2, 1916; Hebard to Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, November 25, 1916, Naturalization files, folder 4.

desire to become good American citizens." The first lesson began with the students memorizing the song "America," then writing an essay on "what the Hymn means." Hebard, in addition to explaining the process of naturalization, had the class explain "why and under what conditions" they had immigrated to the United States and also discuss the meaning of liberty. Each week focused on a particular theme—citizenship, one of the three branches of federal government, an overview of American history, Wyoming and city government—before ending with a review and discussion of "Citizenship Privileges and Duties." In addition to "the academic treatment of her subject, Dr. Hebard never let a lesson pass without a patriotic stimulus," from "special study" of American Presidents to "lessons in democratic ideals from the Revolutionary and Civil Wars." An American flag, "with a picture of Washington in its folds," hung behind the instructor throughout.[31]

At the end of the examination, "Dr. Hebard pinned a small silk flag upon the coat or dress of each one of the class" and reminded them that their first duty as new citizens might entail defending the emblem "even at the sacrifice of life." A lawyer in attendance, moved by the ceremony, assured Dr. Hebard, "[a]lthough you have no sons to send to war, you certainly have made three patriotic loyal citizens out of that number of aliens." Significantly, one of the spinster professor's patriotic loyal citizens was Ferdinand Hansen, a German from Rock River, who when asked if he would fight against his former homeland if the United States entered the war, replied in the affirmative, "without any hesitation, but with a troubled brow." Accompanying the one-page article, a photograph showed Dr. Hebard standing on the courthouse steps with Judge Tidball, Emmerich, the Clerk of Court, and her three students, identified as "German, Irishman, Englishman."[32]

Oddly, considering her views about southern and eastern Europeans, Dr. Hebard had very little direct contact with immigrants from those parts of the globe. Yugoslavians, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Turks, Greeks, and Italians inhabited the coal mining camps in southwestern Wyoming, but Hebard's citizenship students generally came from the British Isles, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries. Of 53 students listed on enrollment cards found in Hebard's papers, one was Greek and another Syrian. Of the remaining 51, 11 were English, 11 Swedish, seven Norwegian, six German, three Canadian, three Scottish, two Danish, one Belgian, one Irish, one British West Indian, one Swiss, and one Mexican. The other three were American women married to immigrants, who by law, were citizens of their husbands' nations of origin until the man became an American citizen. It is unlikely that these three and the five foreign-born wives included in the enrollment cards actually took Dr. Hebard's course, thereby leaving 45 bona fide students.[33] Otherwise, only three of Dr. Hebard's immigrant scholars were women, the widowed Englishwoman Louisa Banner, her single daughter Kate, and Jennie McLay, a 42-year-old teacher from Canada. Most of the students worked for the Union Pacific railroad as engineers, machinists, car inspectors or repairers, tie hacks, rip track workers, and hostlers. Others noted their occupations as laborers, carpenters, and ranchers, with one each being a shepherd, teamster, barber, merchant, and miner.[34]

During the summer of 1917, Hebard augmented her normal teaching load by conducting more "classes in Americanization." By November, according to the *Woman Citizen*, she had already "achieved a nation-wide fame" in "bringing America to many a foreigner."[35] Moreover, Dr. Hebard wasted little time in taking her message about Americanization on the road. As the federally appointed head of Wyoming's War Lecture Bureau, Hebard tra-

[30] "Americanization Service of the Suffragists," *National Suffrage News*, undated clipping in Box 35, Hebard papers; *Laramie Boomerang*, March 8, 1917. A copy of Judge Tidball's November 20, 1916 court order is in Naturalization files, folder 2.

[31] "Americanization Service;" "Citizenship. Outline Lessons to be used in the Class for Preparation for Naturalization. Grace Raymond Hebard, Laramie, Wyo," in Naturalization files, folder 2. Students had to be able to read English to take Hebard's course. Otherwise, a citizenship candidate would "receive special instruction in another course." See McClymer, "Americanization Movement and Education," 105–10, for a general critique of Americanization classes.

[32] "Americanization Service;" "Interesting Westerners," *Sunset*, September 1918, 46; *Laramie Boomerang*, March 8, 1917. The German, of course, was Hansen, the Irishman Joe L. Madigan, and the Englishman Walter Teesdale. Hansen was indeed drafted into the armed forces. See Grace Raymond Hebard to A. N. Hasenkamp, January 17, 1919, in Naturalization files, folder 4.

[33] John F. McClymer makes the point that Americanization, though usually taught in public schools and other settings by women, was explicitly geared toward males. McClymer, "Gender and the 'American Way of Life': Women in the Americanization Movement," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 10 (Spring 1991): 7–9.

[34] Information on students gleaned from enrollment cards in Naturalization vertical files, folder 1. McLay, despite missing the first few meetings of Dr. Hebard's class due to a "very bad cold," was naturalized on March 19, 1919, along with Peter Ketelson, a German, Razi Najjar from Syria, Frederick G. James, a barber from the British West Indies, and Chris Andersen, a Dane who worked as a hostler for the Union Pacific. See Jennie McLay to Grace Raymond Hebard, February 4, 1919, in Naturalization files, folder 2. Moreover, McLay, who taught for a period of time at Tie Siding School, about twenty miles south of Laramie, was Albany County Superintendent of Schools from 1923 to 1925. See Albany County Cow-Belles, *Cow-Belles Ring School Bells: A History of Rural Schools in Albany County, Wyoming* (Laramie: Albany County Cow-Belles Club, 1976), xviii, 34.

versed the state giving talks not only on Americanization but on food conservation and women's role in war work. In a presentation before the state board of education in November 1917, she "made a strong plea for some action toward the Americanization of emigrant foreigners in this country, and the removing of the hyphen from their designation in advance of their being made citizens." She pushed the board to provide free instruction for Wyoming's foreign residents in English and American and Wyoming history and government. Alas, on this occasion, the board could only express its sympathy with Hebard's wishes, confessing that a lack of funds prevented the implementation of a state-run Americanization program.[36]

A few months later, Dr. Hebard ventured to Fort Collins to address the Cache la Poudre chapter of the DAR. Hebard, described in a newspaper account as "the only woman in this part of the country who has been granted the special privilege of preparing aliens for citizenship," stressed Americanization as a crucial war measure, reiterating her contention that "many foreigners were naturalized, but not Americanized." Furthermore, at this talk, the professor discussed another aspect of naturalization that concerned her greatly. In recommending the founding of night schools, she emphasized the need to Americanize the alien's wife. "She must be educated," Dr. Hebard declared, "and receive more recognition and [s]ome of the principles of Americanization must be ground into her."[37]

In late summer 1918, as the war headed into its final weeks, Grace Hebard traveled east, the guest of Grace H. Bagley of Boston, chair of the Americanization committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Mrs. Bagley's letters of introduction to other women with whom Hebard met during her eastern trip referred to the Wyomingite as "a 100 per cent efficient war time American," whose "favorite job is the education of immigrants." In September, speaking to women in Boston, Hebard got swiftly to the point, asking, "Is the melting pot melting?" Answering her own question, she pointed out the self-segregation of Boston's foreign population. "There should be no foreign quarter," she declared, and then helpfully explained her Americanization philosophy: "I instruct at night in the fundamentals and ideals of United States history, show them the difference between liberty and license and prepare them for American citizenship." Impressed, a *Boston Herald & Tribune* reporter referred to the Wyoming educator as "a patriot with a capital P."[38]

Wither Grace Hebard's "capital P" patriotism after the war? An attack of acute indigestion prevented her from attending the naturalization of five of her students in March 1919, and she subsequently informed correspondents that she had taught her last naturalization class.[39] Nonetheless, she put considerable effort into immigrant issues and Americanization for the remainder of her life. For example, immediately following the Armistice, the University of Wyoming's Division of Correspondence Study offered Political Economy XIII: Americanization, taught by Dr. Hebard. "As a future preparedness for national unity," Hebard's course description stated, "naturalization of the alien should mean more than a human voting machine, it must mean being an American with all hyphens eliminated." The course, designed for regular university students, not immigrants seeking naturalization papers, offered a brief history of immigration and a description of "what our government is now doing to Americanize the foreigner." Soon thereafter, Dr. Hebard began teaching a two credit course, required of Political Economy majors, called "Americanization and Reconstruction." Reflective of widespread post-war concerns about labor radicalism (a key element in the Red Scare), the catalogue course description pointed out that "the problem of making the immi-

[35] "In a Suffrage Garden," *Woman Citizen*, November 10, 1917, 458, clipping in box 35, Hebard papers.

[36] "Dr. Hebard Urges Americanization of Aliens," unidentified newspaper clipping, dated November 14, 1917, in box 35, Hebard papers; "Interesting Westerners," 46; Minutes of the State Board of Education for November 12, 1917, in Minutes of and Reports to the State Board of Education, Wyoming State Archives, Cheyenne.

[37] "Americanization of Aliens is Urged," unidentified and undated newspaper clipping, Box 37, Hebard papers. A clipping from the *Laramie Republican*, February 11, 1918, refers to a talk on food conservation given in Fort Collins prior to the Americanization address, which took place that evening. The unidentified clipping refers to the earlier talk. Hebard outlined her concern for Americanizing immigrant women in an article published in a Washington State-based journal called *The Vanguard* and several letters. See Grace Raymond Hebard, "Americanization of Alien Woman [sic]," *The Vanguard*, March 1918, in Naturalization files, folder 3; Hebard to Hon. V. J. Tidball, September 15, 1916, Hebard to Paul Lee Ellerbe, September 15, 1916, Ellerbe to Hebard, September 25, 1916, Hebard to Mrs. John C. Pearson, undated, all in Naturalization files, folder 4. For a brief discussion concerning the Americanization of immigrant women, see McClymer, "Gender and the 'American Way of Life'," 9–16.

[38] Grace H. Bagley to Gertrude Barnum, August 22, 1918; Bagley to Julia C. Lathrop, August 22,1918, box 35, Hebard papers; *Boston Herald & Tribune*, September 3, 1918, clipping in box 35, Hebard papers. For references to Bagley's role as the suffrage organization's head of Americanization, see Ida Husted Harper, ed., *History of Woman Suffrage* (New York: NAWSA, 1922), 5:520, 560, 690, 697, 729, 732.

[39] Hebard also anticipated the state's public schools and the University's Department of Education taking control of Americanization. Grace Raymond Hebard to Raymond Martin, February 26, 1919; Hebard to Paul Armstrong, February 26, March 21, 1919; Hebard to V. J. Tidball, March 17, 1919; Hebard to Richard K. Campbell, March 21, 1919; Hebard to Paul Lee Ellerbe, March 21, 1919, Naturalization files, folder 4.

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The "Americanizer" poses in her office, University of Wyoming, early in her career

grant an American before he is naturalized involves important labor conditions which are allied with the period of reconstruction always necessary after a war." Hebard offered this course, or a variation thereof, until her death in 1936. The 1921 legislation provided the pretext for a summer school class in Naturalization and Citizenship, planned "to meet the new demand of those who are expecting to teach in night schools."[40]

Besides teaching the precepts of Americanization to University of Wyoming students well into the 1930s, Grace Hebard continued to find time to preach about the benefits of educating immigrants as well as the dangers of unrestricted immigration. In an address to young immigrant tie hacks at a picnic in Foxpark during the summer of 1922, Dr. Hebard extolled the benefits of Americanization and naturalization. Yet, as the United States worked its way toward placing numerical quotas upon immigration in the early 1920s, Hebard also made her views concerning certain groups known in Wyoming and nationally. At a WFWC convention at Casper in 1920 she warned clubwomen of an "expanding foreign population, which consists largely of Italians, Slovaks, Czecks [sic], Rumanians, Poles and Russians" lured to the United States because of post-war conditions in Europe and high wages in America. Hebard again expressed her underlying doubts about these immigrants' willingness to throw off their "restless spirit" and "become American citizens." In the *Woman Citizen* in 1921, she maintained that "our own house needs readjustment just now," and commended the recently passed federal immigration law, which limited the number of new immigrants from each nationality to three percent of those resident in the United States in 1910. That provision favored immigration from northern and northwestern Europe and greatly reduced the numbers coming from southern and eastern Europe. "Homogeneity," Hebard asserted, "can only be maintained by admitting in greatest numbers those who are acceptable for assimilation with our American people. The new law aims to restrict the tide from countries which would give us a population difficult of assimilation and give preference to countries whose emigrants are eager to become Americans, with whom we would intermarry." Perhaps, as examples of those eager to become Americans, Dr. Hebard had in mind the "German, Irishman, Englishman" whom she transformed into Americans several years before. She also gave "Americanization" talks as the 1924 National Origins Act, which ultimately restricted European immigration on the basis of the 1890 census, further reducing

[40] "Division of Correspondence Study," *University of Wyoming Bulletin* 15 (Laramie: University of Wyoming, December 1918), 42; "Catalogue, 1921," *UW Bulletin* 18 (Laramie: UW, April 1921), 76; "Summer School Number, June 19 to July 29, 1922," *UW Bulletin* 18 (Laramie: UW, April 1922), 30. See course outlines for training Americanization workers in Naturalization files, folder 1.

the quota for southern and eastern Europeans, approached passage.[41]

Considered by many of her contemporaries as a "a path breaker" in "[m]aking American citizens,"[42] Grace Raymond Hebard, through her career as an Americanizer, represents a paradox in America's historical treatment of immigrants. While welcomed as a crucial supply of manual labor, the southern and eastern Europeans (not to mention Asian and Latin American immigrants) repelled many "old stock" Americans like Hebard. They lacked the proper individualistic and democratic traditions and seemed particularly susceptible to following the red flags of radicalism. Yet, as noted above, her immigrant students did not come from Poland, Russia, Italy, and other nations of dubious qualities in the assessment of Americanizers.

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"Dr. Hebard extolled the benefits of Americanization and naturalization."

Responses of immigrant students themselves to Hebard's classes suggest that she made a positive impression on her citizenship classes. A letter "From a member of my first Americanization class," thanked Hebard "for the work you have done and the interest you have taken in us." The correspondent continued: "I consider that we have been singularly fortunate—that your public spiritedness and patriotism prompted you to assume the task—.Personally, I came to the classes at first with a feeling that I was pretty well acquainted with the needful subjects, and that it would not be necessary for me to attend, but at the first lesson I formed a different concept of Citizenship from your enthusiasm and Patriotism." Kate Banner, the young English woman whose mother and brother Hebard also "Americanized," thanked the teacher for "your kindness in making things so pleasant for us, especially Mother." In 1929, the University of Wyoming's student newspaper, *The Branding Iron*, in a story about Dr. Hebard's fortieth year at the school, reported: "Many of our citizens of foreign birth speak gratefully of this service whenever her name is mentioned in their presence."[43] Thus, in contrast to Hebard's often harsh comments about certain immigrant groups, it must be acknowledged that she made a concerted and conscientious effort to ease their assimilation into American life. Even if one questions her embrace of homogeneity—and one does so at the risk of yanking Dr. Hebard out of context—her underlying optimism contrasts favorably with much of the raw chauvinism and xenophobia passing as patriotism during and after World War I. One can only guess at whether more contact with southern and eastern Europeans in her classes would have confirmed Hebard in her prejudices or softened her views.

[41] "Americanization and Naturalization in Wyoming, 1921–22," *The Clubwoman*, October-November 1922, 12–13, and unidentified newspaper clippings in Naturalization files, folder 1; [Grace Raymond Hebard], "America for Americans," typewritten draft in Naturalization files, folder 3; *Casper Daily Tribune*, September 29-30, 1920; *Casper Herald*, September 30, 1920; Grace Raymond Hebard, "Why We Exclude the Ninety-Seven," *Woman Citizen*, June 18, 1921, 14; Unidentified and undated newspaper clipping, probably April 1924, Hebard papers, Box 37.

[42] "Interesting Westerners," 46.

[43] Undated, typed letter (possibly a copy), in Naturalization files, folder 2; Kate Banner to Grace Raymond Hebard, June 5, 1917, Naturalization files, folder 2; "Dr. Hebard Honored on Anniversary of Service," *The Branding Iron*, July 1, 1929, clipping in box 35, Hebard papers.

Hebard's impact must also be considered in relation to the native-born American students who, under her tutelage, confidently strode forth from Laramie to teach the immigrant in communities all around Wyoming and elsewhere. In 1929, for instance, Hebard witnessed a naturalization examination of applicants trained by "my one-time student," J. E. Thayer. "The way they answered and the earnestness with which they went to their task," she informed Thayer, "showed very clearly that their instructor had been very painstaking and that he had obtained their respect and confidence." "As a student in your classes in Americanization and Sociology during the past summer term," A. L. Burgoon, a school district superintendent in Lincoln County, Wyoming, wrote in 1922, "I wish to express my appreciation for the vision and inspiration you have given me." And from the nun in Notre Dame, Indiana, delighted at Dr. Hebard's prompt reply to her request for information, a sincere, even touching, note of gratitude: "I know I should be very proud and happy to have made as many good citizens for our beloved country as you have done."[44] To those devoted to the cause of Americanization that was exactly the point—to make good American citizens. While many at the time and since have rightly criticized them for their zealotry and prejudice, the Americanizers generally conducted their crusade as a sincere and well-intentioned endeavor. The case of Grace Raymond Hebard indicates quite clearly the commingling of fear and optimism inherent in the Americanizers' approach.

[44] Grace Raymond Hebard to Mr. J. E. Thayer, March 18, 1929, in Naturalization vertical file, folder 2, AHC; see also, in same location, Hebard to Honorable V. J. Tidball, March 18, 1929; A. L. Burgoon to Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, August 1, 1922, box 36, Hebard papers; Sister M. Veronica to Hebard, March 23, 1924.

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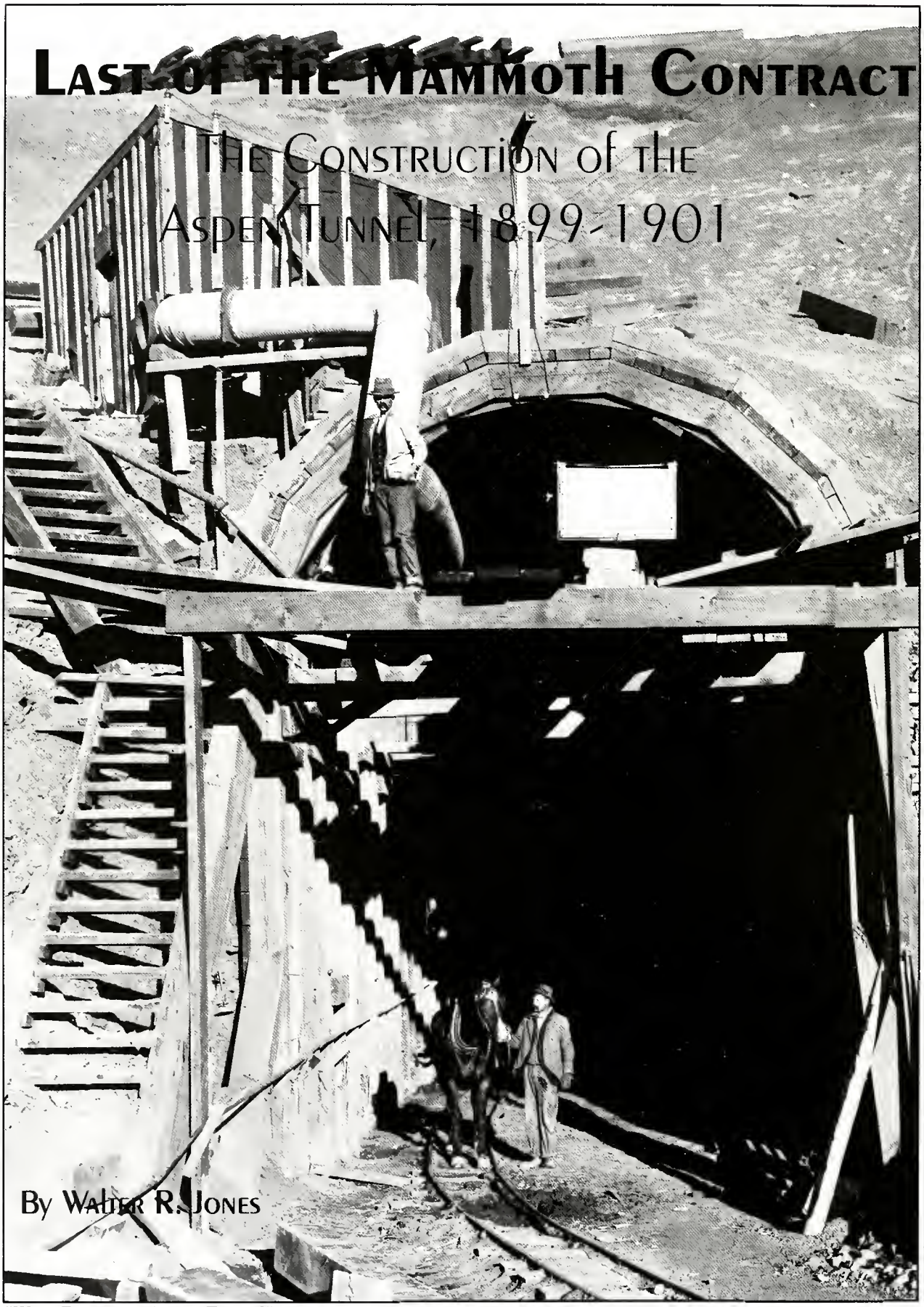
Last of the Mammoth Contract

The Construction of the Aspen Tunnel, 1899-1901



By Walter R. Jones

J. E. Stimson photograph, Wyoming State Archives

"West Entrance, Aspen Tunnel"

Horace G. Burt, president of the Union Pacific Railroad, personally explored his company's route through the Rocky Mountains "afoot and on horseback" several times in 1898. Along with numerous survey teams he sought a path that would both shorten the railroad's line and reduce its grade, particularly in the more rugged regions of Wyoming. Working with his chief engineer, J.B. Berry, who would ultimately plan and supervise the construction program, Burt became the "prime mover" behind an ambitious improvement project whose crowning achievement would be Aspen Tunnel, a 5,900-foot long cut through Aspen Ridge five and one-half miles east of the Bear River and eleven miles south of Evanston, Wyoming.[1]

Burt had a clear mandate to create an "extensive scheme of improvement" for the Union Pacific Railroad. The company had survived the Depression of 1893, had gone through receivership and reorganization, and, as of December 1897, had a new board of directors. Sitting on this new board was the railroad world's administrative genius, Edward Henry Harriman.[2]

E.H. Harriman had considerable experience in operating railroad companies before joining the Union Pacific's board. His father-in-law, William J. Averell, an Ogdensburg, New York banker, served as president of the Ogdensburg & Lake Champlain Railroad Company. Being related to Averell influenced Harriman's desire to become involved in the management and financial affairs of railroads and led him in 1881 to purchase, reinvigorate and then sell the once-bankrupt Lake Ontario Southern Railroad. In 1883, Harriman joined the Illinois Central Railroad and became Stuyvesant Fish's assistant. Here Harriman successfully tested his theory of improving a line's operational efficiency through recycling company profits to secure equipment and to upgrade and maintain the line's physical facilities. Earning a reputation as "one of the great railway builders of all time," Harriman soon demonstrated his "unerring judgement as to the extent to which earnings should be reinvested" in a railroad's betterment. Within five months of becoming a member of the Union Pacific's board of directors, Harriman had risen to the position of president of the board's executive committee.[3]

Harriman came to the Union Pacific Railroad Company at precisely the right time. Despite its having weathered five years of economic hardship, the railroad was in deplorable condition. The Union Pacific's physical situation was "almost hopeless":

> Track was poor, rails were light, rolling stock was old and inadequate. Maintenance had been neglected on much of the line during the period of receivership, grades were heavy and curves short.[4]

From the beginning the railroad's founders had been more interested in short-term gains than in the company's future welfare. While deciding on the line's original route, Union Pacific officials gave little thought to a straight, short and relatively level pathway. Their main concern was to lay as much track as quickly as possible to take advantage of the generous land grants that the federal government offered the company as an incentive to construct the railroad. Subsequent administrations showed more desire to issue dividends to stockholders than to put the line's profits back into its facilities and equipment. Harriman, however, reversed these situations. His philosophy was one of efficiency financed through company earnings which he would use to purchase larger and heavier equipment and locomotives to pull longer trains, and to pay for improving the route by reducing curves and grades, and upgrading ballast, bridges, and rails. To effect these changes the board named practical engineer H.G. Burt president

[1] "Roadbed Improvement on the Union Pacific," *Railway and Engineering Review* 41 (March 16, 1901), 142; "Revision of Grades and Alignment, Union Pacific R.R.," *Railway and Engineering Review* 41 (August 10, 1901), 532; W.P. Hardesty, "The Construction of the Aspen, Wyoming, Tunnel on the Union Pacific Railroad," *Engineering News* 47 (March 6, 1902), 185; Maury Klein, *Union Pacific: The Rebirth, 1894-1969* (New York: Doubleday, 1989), 29; *Wyoming Press*, May 3, 1902; United States, U.S. Army, Army Map Service, Corps of Engineers. "Ogden, Utah; Wyoming," scale 1:250,000 (Washington, D. C.: 1966 [limited revision of 1954]).

[2] "Revision of Grade," 532; Klein, *Union Pacific*, 11-20, 26, 28-29.

[3] Dumas Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), 8: 297-98; Nelson Trottman, *History of the Union Pacific* (New York: Ronald Press Company, 1923), 273-74, 301, 305; Klein, *Union Pacific*, 39, 49.

[4] Malone, *Dictionary*, 8: 297.

Completing Aspen Tunnel was a technological feat that took two years, resulted in the death of at least eleven workers from accidents directly related to the project's construction, and cost $12,000,000.

Special Collections, University of Utah Library, Salt Lake City

The wagon train was photographed in Echo Canyon, Utah, 26.5 miles west of Sulphur Creek where the Hasting's Cutoff route over Aspen Ridge ended.

of the Union Pacific, and Harriman ordered Burt to draw up a large-scale construction plan for the railroad's entire route.[5]

Chief Engineer J.B. Berry planned and directed the Union Pacific's "extensive scheme of improvement" for Burt. His blueprints called for the construction of cutoffs, the elimination or reduction of grades and curves, the widening of roadbeds lined with ballast to a nine-inch depth, the use of eighty-pound steel rail in place of the older seventy-pound stock, and the replacement of all wooden bridges with steel trestles or earthen embankments and cast-iron, concrete or stone culverts.[6]

Much of Berry's master plan centered on Wyoming. Here the practical engineer designed eight cutoffs that incorporated bridges calculated to bear the weight of "two 172 1/2-ton consolidated engines, followed by a train load of 4,000 lbs per lin. ft.," two massive earth-fill embankments, and two long tunnels. The cutoffs were: Buford to Laramie; Howell to Huttons; Coopers Lake to Lookout; Lookout to Medicine Bow; Allen Junction to Dana; Rawlins to Tipton; Green River to Bryan; LeRoy to Bear River.

Buford to Laramie, Wyoming's eastern-most cutoff, was "one of the heaviest pieces of grading" completed during the entire program. It replaced lengthy wooden spans at Dale Creek and Lone Tree Creek with solid dirt embankments and iron culverts, and it included a 3,000-foot long tunnel near Tie Siding, southeast of Laramie. The other extremely difficult project was the LeRoy-Bear River Cutoff, near Wyoming's western border where construction crews dug Aspen Tunnel, the "largest single piece of tunnel work performed by the Union Pacific Railroad Co."[7]

The Physical Environment

The LeRoy-Bear River Cutoff with its towering Aspen Ridge—Sir Richard Burton called it "Quaking Asp Hill"—traversed some of the most rugged, harsh, yet scenically beautiful and historically interesting country on all of the Union Pacific's route through Wyoming. While travelling by train across the United States in 1877, flamboyant publisher Frank Leslie commented

[5] Hardesty, "Construction of the Aspen, Wyoming, Tunnel," 185; Trottman, *History*, 305; Klein, *Union Pacific*, 29, 55-61.

[6] Hardesty, "Construction of the Aspen, Wyoming, Tunnel," 188; "Roadbed Improvements," 142-143; "Revision of Grade," 532, 534; Trottman, *History*, 302-03; Klein, *Union Pacific*, 56.

[7] "Features of the Work of Grade Reduction, Union Pacific R.R.," *Railway and Engineering Review* 41 (February 9, 1901), 72; "Roadbed Improvements," 142-43; *Engineering News*, 185, 187; Trottman, *History*, 302-03; U.S. Department of the Interior, United States Geological Survey, Guidebook of the Western United States: Part B; The Overland Route, by Willis T. Lee, et al, *Bulletin* 612 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1916), 77.

Mormon pioneer William Clayton traveled to Salt Lake City in 1847. He recorded mileage on the trip, wrote a guide detailing important points, and kept a diary.

LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City

that the Aspen Ridge region was "the desolate heart of Wyoming."[8] In technical terms the cutoff was a hydrographic divide that separated two Rocky Mountain drainage basins:

> The waters east of Aspen Ridge find their way down Muddy Creek and Black Fork to Green River and thence through the Grand Canyon of the Colorado to the Gulf of California. Those west of this ridge find their way to Bear River and flow by a circuitous route into Great Salt Lake, from which they can escape only by evaporation.[9]

Nineteenth-century travellers left vivid accounts of the imposing ruggedness of Aspen Ridge. Pioneer explorer of a route from Fort Bridger to the Great Salt Lake, Edwin Bryant, described the passage around Aspen Ridge in 1846 when he declared the mountain to be an "impassable barrier of perpendicular red sandstone." A year later Erastus Snow, one of the original Mormon emigrants who moved into the Salt Lake Valley in 1847, referred to Aspen Ridge when he recorded, "Today we passed through several fertile vallies [sic] and over two of the most rugged hills we have passed on our journey." Writing of the same district Sir Richard Burton described a "broken land of spurs and hollows," and "curiously shaped hills and bluffs of red earth capped with white clay." Frank Leslie penned a picturesque description of the region as being "long, low bluffs" which "heave wildly all around Aspen...."[10]

Early sojourners commented on Aspen Ridge's harsh climate. The region's growing season was a scant ninety days with the first frost generally appearing in early September and the last frost coming as late as June 6th. William Clayton, Mormon pioneer, recorded in his journal on 11 July 1847 that his group's water buckets had one-quarter inch of ice in the morning when they camped on Sulphur Creek, just west of Aspen Ridge. In early May 1850, a group of Mormon elders on their way east from Salt Lake City to serve missions in Europe, crossed over the divide, having to use snow shovels to dig their way across Aspen Ridge.[11] On his trip across America, Frank Leslie marvelled at the clime's "shrieking, savage wind" and wrote:

> Snowsheds and drift fences follow the track almost continuously, and at the summit of the divide comes the longest shed of the Union Pacific road — 2700 feet of arched timbers — through which we go thundering in semi-darkness.

He concluded that the place was a "wild, windy region where winter storms rage as no dweller in the lowlands can ever picture...."[12] Oilmen, working the mountains and valleys around Quaking Asp Hill at the same time railroad crews bored Aspen Tunnel, quickly learned that "practically all [oil field] development is at a standstill from the first of December to the first of May each year."[13]

Beyond these observations on the rough and harsh nature of the land along the LeRoy-Bear River Cutoff, some of the initial explorers appreciated the rich and beautiful aspect of Aspen Ridge. Edwin Bryant recalled seeing "gnarled and stunted cedars, twisted by the winds into many fantastic shapes" and a "narrow hollow [Pioneer Hollow]...the bottom of which is covered with rank grass, and gay with the bloom of the wild geranium and shrubs richly ornamented with a bright yellow blossom." As he ascended the ridge Sir Richard Burton rejoiced to view a "mixture of colours" and the "striking" sight of "converging, diverging, parallel

[8] Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California* (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1861), 224; Richard Reinhardt, *Out West on the Overland Train* (Palo Alto, Calif.: American West Publishing Co., 1967), 85.

[9] Department of the Interior, *Western United States*, 79.

[10] J. Roderic Korns, "West from Fort Bridger," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 19 (1951): 57; Erastus Snow, "Journey to Zion," *Utah Humanities Quarterly* 2 (April 1948): 272; Burton, *City of the Saints*, 224; Reinhardt, *Out West*, 85.

[11] U.S. Department of the Interior, United States Geological Survey, *Geography and Geology of a Portion of Southwestern Wyoming with Special Reference to Coal and Oil* by A.C. Veatch, Professional Paper 56 (Washington, D.C.:GPO, 1907), p. 41; Clayton Family Association, *William Clayton's Journal* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1921), 289; "Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1972," Copy at Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, (April 20, 1850).

[12] Reinhardt, *Out West*, 83, 85.

[13] *Wyoming Press*, January 16, 1904.

ridges, with deep ravines...."[14] Captain James Simpson who led a scientific expedition into the Great Basin in 1859, spoke of the barren character of the soils from South Pass to the vicinity of Fort Bridger, but commented that this situation changed dramatically as his party travelled westward from the fort into the Aspen Mountain province:

> When we approach, however, the foot of the western mountains, we perceive a great change in the vegetation. There are green valleys, diversified with groves of timber, and the mountain-sides and uplands are, besides the wild sage (Artemisia), thickly covered with nutritious fodder-grasses, and partly studded with cedar and pine.[15]

Captain Jesse A. Gove, Tenth Infantry, United States Army, produced a highly intriguing account of the beauty of the Aspen Tunnel region. A member of General Albert Sidney Johnston's military expedition to Utah in 1857-58, Gove served both as an Army officer and as a correspondent for the *New York Herald*. His dispatches to the *Herald*, in combination with letters to his wife, Maria, blend a soldier's realistic experiences of the hardships encountered in travelling through the mid-19th century American West with an idealist's deep appreciation for the aesthetic qualities of the landscape between Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and Salt Lake City, Utah.[16] Along the banks of the North Platte River in Wyoming, he saw the imposing Red Buttes and proclaimed their charm:

> We are now opposite what is called the Red Buttes; they are high bluffs, the banks appearing a fine red, the soil being impregnated with oxide of iron. It presents a beautiful appearance.[17]

Here, too, he noticed the rippling sound of "four little mountain rivulets" which, as they went "dashing down from the gorges to the plain" for ages, have "quenched the thirst of deer, elk, bears, buffalo, and the whole race of prairie herds."[18]

Severe weather and possibilities of an early death accompanied Captain Gove. West of Red Buttes, he and his soldiers spent "one of the coldest nights" of their trip thus far, and soon felt the piercing sting of Wyoming's rain and "cold, chilling wind." In this, the very region where the trapper Osborne Russell endured a cold, rain-soaked night of "Egyptian darkness" in 1837, Gove experienced a grim reminder of nature's sterner aspects. "Graves are quite common," he wrote to his wife in mid-September 1857. "We pass them every day...."[19]

Circumstances became unpleasant for Johnston's Army which had to winter at Camp Scott, a bivouac site near the scorched remains of Fort Bridger where Mormons had destroyed all useful buildings and supplies ahead of the advancing soldiers. While Captain Gove lived out the winter in the comfort afforded soldiers of his rank, he noted a mishap that befell a cook named "Berlieu," one which illustrates the dangers of the Aspen Ridge country. The cook was stranded along the Bear River and had to spend four days "without food or shelter...." When a group of Snake Indians brought Berlieu in, he was nearly dead: "His feet are frozen badly, as on or near Bear River there is much snow."[20]

Yet Captain Gove retained his "attentive eye" and once the Army columns resumed their march into Utah Territory in June 1858, he experienced a feeling of near exaltation as he climbed the summit of Aspen Ridge. In a dispatch to the New York Herald, he wrote that on his ascent he was greeted by "a scene that could truly be called grand or sublime." To the south he saw the towering "Uinta Mountains...covered with snow till they were as perfectly white as the brightest cloud in heaven." In between himself and the Uintas, "mountain on mountain rose and rolled away." Facing him were the steep ridges of Aspen Mountain and to the north stood Medicine Butte's "lofty circular summit." Once west of Quaking Asp Hill, he found that Bear River Valley "could not be denominated less than grand." That he had the presence of mind to write of these

[14] Korns, "West from Fort Bridger," 57; Burton, *City of the Saints*, 224.

[15] Captain J.H. Simpson, *Report of Explorations Across the Great Basin of the Territory of Utah for a Direct Wagon-Route from Camp Floyd to Genoa, in Carson Valley, in 1859* (Reno, Nevada: University of Nevada Press, 1983), 286-87.

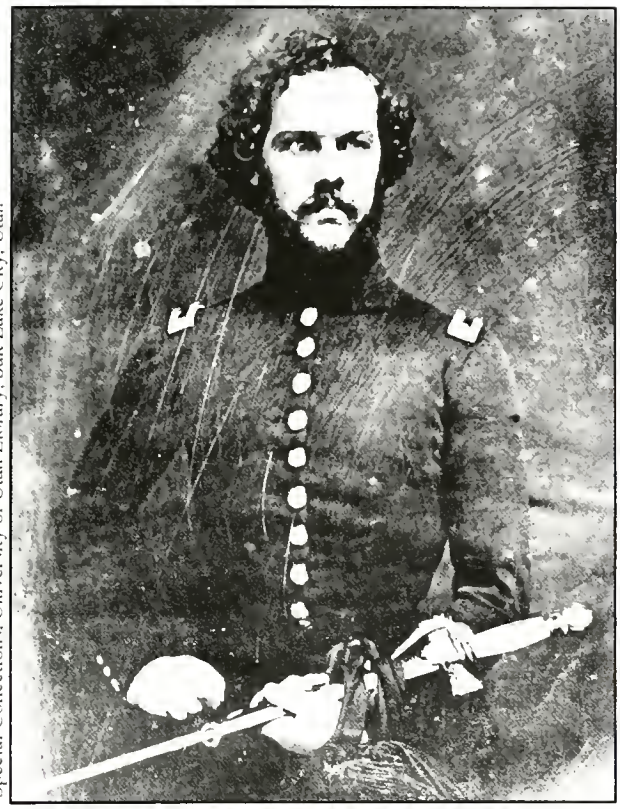
[16] Otis G. Hammond, editor, *The Utah Expedition, 1857-1858* (Concord, N. H.: New Hampshire Historical Society, 1928), 15-17.

[17] Hammond, *Utah Expedition*, 55; Osborne Russell, *Journal of a Trapper* (London: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), 74, 75, 155.

[18] Hammond, *Utah Expedition*, 55; Russell, *Journal*, 75.

[19] Ibid., 56, 57. Others bore testimony to the ever-present sight of graves along the Western emigration trails. Captain Howard Stansbury, leaving the Great Salt Lake after conducting scientific studies of the region in 1849 and 1850, passed over Aspen Ridge where he reported, "Directly upon the summit, by the side of the road, was the fresh grave of some poor fellow who had come thus far on his journey to the land of promise-the land he was destined never to behold." Brigham D. Madsen, *Exploring the Great Salt Lake* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 615.

[20] Hammond, *Utah Expedition*, 146. To say that Captain Gove lived in comparative comfort during the 1857-58 winter is not to suggest that he did not suffer the hardships of the extremely cold weather. A lengthy description of Johnston's columns approaching Fort Bridger in the bitter cold days of early November 1857 illustrates the condition that the soldiers and civilians comprising the "Army of Utah" endured. See Raymond W. and Mary Lund Settle, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 73.



Special Collections, University of Utah Library, Salt Lake City, Utah

Capt. Jesse A. Gove marched with the army to Utah in 1857-58. He described the journey in letters to his wife and dispatches to the New York Herald.

natural wonders testifies to his Emersonian love of nature because he recorded seeing them only after going through "one of the most disagreeable days I ever experienced." After descending Aspen Ridge, he crossed the Bear River in a rain storm, then stood in the open for four hours before recrossing the Bear to go into camp with his men. In a letter to his wife he simply concluded, "An awful day."[21]

Historically, Captain Gove is but one of a great procession of pioneer travelers who had marked off a route through the ruggedly beautiful Aspen Ridge province before Horace Burt and his railroad's survey crews began to scout the LeRoy-Bear River Cutoff. This cutoff, with its Aspen Tunnel masterpiece, serves as an important segment in the annals of overland transportation across Wyoming. Much of its prominence resides in its being heir to a trail which immigrants initially called Hastings Cutoff, a path that started at Fort Bridger and led westward to the Great Salt Lake Basin and beyond to the California goldfields.

Walker and Early Travelers

Hastings Cutoff started as a wagon road in August 1843 when mountain man Joseph Reddeford Walker guided Joseph C. Chiles and a group of California-bound sojourners with their wagons out of Fort Bridger, over Aspen Ridge, and then down to the Bear River Valley.[22] At this time trails through the American West were in "a state of flux," and until the summer of 1846 the Hastings route lacked clear definition. On July 16, 1846, Edwin Bryant, a former resident of Louisville, Kentucky, arrived at Fort Bridger where he met Lansford W. Hastings. Hastings had recently arrived at the fort from California and reported to Bryant that he had just travelled a route that was "perfectly practicable for wagons." Bryant and his party's leader, William H. Russell, decided to follow the trail Hastings talked about, and on July 20, 1846, the Bryant-Russell group left Fort Bridger to follow a trace that took them over Aspen Ridge.[23]

Edwin Bryant kept a journal of his travels along the Hastings Cutoff, and this journal described much of the route that was to become the LeRoy-Bear River Cutoff fifty-three years later. Leaving Fort Bridger with Russell and eight other men, Bryant remarked that the scenery improved greatly. He specifically noted that "the sides of the hills and mountains have also in many places presented a bright green herbage, and clumps of the aspen poplar frequently ornament the hollows near the bases of the hills." Clouds appeared during the afternoon of the first day out of Fort Bridger, and a rain fell, giving the air a "wintry feel." Once the clouds had departed Bryant could see that snow had fallen in the distant Uinta Mountains.[24]

After travelling approximately fifteen miles, Bryant's party camped near Big Muddy in a "handsome little valley" that was "richly carpeted with green grass of an excellent quality." Cottonwood trees, willows, and various shrubs grew along Big Muddy's banks, and these lent an "agreeable" aspect to the region's landscape. The night air was very cold, and when the members of the party arose on the morning of July 21, 1846, they discovered "ice the thickness of window-glass" in their water pails. As yet Bryant and his fellow sojourners had not come to the LeRoy-Bear River Cutoff's route.[25]

Leaving camp on July 21, the Bryant-Russell group crossed over a narrow ridge and entered "another grassy

[21] Hammond, *Utah Expedition*, 175, 330-332.

[22] Korns, "West from Fort Bridger," 7. Joseph Reddeford Walker, serving as an associate and guide to such Western luminaries as Captain B. L. E. Bonneville and John C. Fremont, traveled and worked extensively throughout the West during the fur-trapping and early settlement decades of the 19th century.

[23] Korns, "West from Fort Bridger," 8, 46, 47, 49, 52.

[24] Ibid., 52, map ("The Hastings Cutoff in Wyoming") between 52-53, 56.

[25] Ibid., 56.

valley." This was Spring Valley, and it marks the point at which the Hastings Cutoff met the LeRoy-Bear River Cutoff. Ascending this valley, "between ranges of low sloping hills," James Hudspeth led Bryant and the others up a gradual incline to a ridge whose western slope was "abrupt and precipitous." This steep ridge separated Spring Valley from Pioneer Hollow, a gap Bryant described as "being enclosed on either side by high elevations" of red and yellow soil. As the nine-member party climbed upwards through Pioneer Hollow it met Aspen Ridge which presented an "impassable barrier of red sandstone, rising in perpendicular and impending masses."[26]

Here Aspen Ridge rises southward, forming two smaller hills before reaching the summit of Aspen Mountain at an elevation of 8,100 feet. The "impassable barrier" that Bryant and his companions faced was close to the east entrance to the future Aspen Tunnel, and the Bryant-Russell party swung to the north and ascended the ridge with "great difficulty." Near the crest the group "passed over an elevated plain of gradual ascent, covered with wild sage, of so rank and dense a growth that we found it difficult to force our way through it." Once on the top of Aspen Ridge, Bryant saw the deep, broad Stowe Creek Valley which the nine travelers followed downward and to the southwest for three miles until they came to a narrow gorge that curved to the northwest.[27] This gorge took them directly to the Bear River which Bryant described as "About fifty yards in breadth, with a rapid current of limpid water foaming over a bed so unequal and rocky, that it was difficult, if not dangerous to limbs of mules, when fording it."[28]

Although the Bryant-Russell party continued northward following the Bear River up through the site of the present city of Evanston, Wyoming, the LeRoy-Bear River Cutoff ends very near the point where these pioneers crossed the river on July 21, 1846.[29]

Soon after Edwin Bryant crossed over Aspen Ridge, other pioneer groups began to use this new route. Swiss immigrant Heinrich Lienhard, migrating with a party he called "Hoppe's Company," kept a brief record of his traveling from Fort Bridger to the Bear River, noting that Hoppe's party left the fort on July 26, 1846, and that "many companies ahead of us already had chosen Hastings' Cutoff...."[30]

Mormon Travelers

Nearly one year after the Bryant-Russell expedition, a "pioneer company" of Mormon settlers left Winter Quarters (Florence, Nebraska) on April 16, 1847, for the Rocky Mountains. This company consisted of 73 wagons, 143 men, three women, and two children. Arriving at Fort Bridger on July 7, they stayed near the fort until July 9 when they resumed their journey. Embarking on Hastings Cutoff, one Mormon chronicler observed, "Fortunately for us a party of emigrants bound for the Coast of California passed this way last Fall, though their trail is now in many places scarcely discernable."[31]

Several members of the company kept journals while traveling to the Great Basin. Among them was William Clayton, a Latter-day Saint scribe who compiled a guide which recorded the trip's mileage and notable geographic features, and who wrote a journal that represents one of the "finest firsthand accounts of that memorable crossing."[32] His descriptions of the nature of the road between Fort Bridger and the Bear River tell a vivid story of the trail that ran nearly parallel to the future LeRoy-Bear River Cutoff.

Departing Fort Bridger on July 9, 1847, William Clayton's party traveled westward for six and one-quarter miles before they ascended a "long, steep hill." They proceeded along its relatively level summit for several miles until they came to an "almost perpendicular" slope which they descended with great difficulty. They crossed Big Muddy Creek, a twelve-foot wide stream of clear water and "plenty of bunch grass and willows." Here, after spending a warm, dusty, windy day on the road, they camped for the night.[33] As with the Bryant-Russell party, the Mormon group had not yet reached the point where the Hastings and LeRoy-Bear River cutoffs intersected.

On July 10, the company resumed its journey. Going three and one-half miles, the Mormon pioneers

[26] Ibid., map between 52-53, 57.

[27] U.S., Department of the Interior, United States Geological Survey, "Sulphur Creek Reservoir Quadrangle: Wyoming-Uinta Co." 7.5 Minute Series (Topographic) (1965 [Photorevised 1978]); Korns, "West from Fort Bridger," 58.

[28] Ibid., 58.

[29] Ibid., map between 52-53.

[30] Ibid., 111-112, 117-118.

[31] Russell R. Rich, *Ensign to the Nations* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Publications, 1972), 101, 104; Church Education System, *Church History in the Fulness of Times* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1989), 329-331; Snow, "Journey to Zion," 271-272.

[32] James B. Allen, *Trials of Discipleship* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 221-22, 227-28.

[33] Clayton Family, *Journal*, 286-87; Clayton, *The Latter-day Saints' Emigrants' Guide* (St. Louis, Mo.: Republican Steam Press-Chambers & Knapp, 1848), 18. The hill that Clayton's party ascended is the mesa-flat surface of Bigelow Bench. U.S. Department of the Interior, United States Geological Survey. "LeRoy Quadrangle; Wyoming - Uinta Co." 7.5 Minute Series (Topographic)(1965 [Photorevised 1978]).

came to a "small copperas spring at the foot of a mountain a little to the left of the road." This is where the Hastings and LeRoy-Bear River cutoffs joined. The company followed the Bryant-Russell trail up an incline through Spring Valley to the "summit of a high ridge." The trip down the western side of this ridge was very steep and rough, and the Mormons "found it necessary to halt and fix the road." Soon after overcoming this delay they ran into a barrier of "huge rocks" which caused them to stop again to create a passageway. Still further downhill they halted a third time at a spot where "the brethren had to dig a place considerably to make a pass between two mountains." Within a half an hour, they completed a path big enough to move the wagons through. Clayton wrote the descent was "lengthy, and some tedious" and "dangerous to wagons."[34]

Twenty miles west of Fort Bridger, they passed a second "copperas" spring, then traveled to a place where a "beautiful low bottom filled with grass" greeted them. This was the eastern end of Pioneer Hollow. From there, their route turned southward to lead through a "narrow ravine." After finding two springs of good water along a creek, the party "began to ascend the dividing ridge between the Colorado waters and the great basin." Here they discovered that they had to "make a crooked road to gain the summit." They were now climbing Aspen Ridge which crested at 7,700 feet, and were at a point approximately one and one-half miles south of where the Bryant-Russell group crossed over the divide in 1846. Once on top of the ridge they saw to the south the 8,100-foot peak of Aspen Mountain where three bears ambled along in clear sight.[35]

On the Bear River side of Aspen Ridge, Clayton's party locked the wheels of their wagons and descended cautiously for one and one-half miles because of the steep slope. On their way down they encountered a place where "the road seems suddenly to be shut up by a high mountain ahead." This was the narrow gap that the Bryant-Russell company squeezed through on their way down Stowe Creek to Bear River Valley. The Mormons deviated from Bryant's route at this point by turning to the south to climb over Oyster Shell Ridge, a "high ridge" that separated Stowe Creek Valley from Sulphur Creek. Once off the ridge they crossed Sulphur Creek, a ten-foot wide stream dotted with willows and small cedars, and set up camp at 7:45 p.m., after "having traveled this afternoon nine miles and during the day eighteen over the most mountainous course we have yet seen."[36]

July 11 was a Sunday, so the party stayed in camp to rest, hold prayer meetings, and explore the region. During the day they discovered a "strong sulphur spring," a "bed of stone coal," a "noble spring of pure, cold water," and a "tar or oil spring" that some would later call "Brigham Young Oil Spring." The next morning, Clayton and his companions broke camp and passed over a "very steep little hill" that led to Bear River Valley which was the end of their trace along the LeRoy-Bear River Cutoff.[37]

In August 1847 a group of the original Mormon pioneer company, returning to Winter Quarters, Nebraska, discovered that they did not have to retrace the "toilsome road" they had used through Spring Valley and up Pioneer Hollow on their trip to the Great Salt Lake. By staying to the higher ground to the south and east of the original cutoff leading from the Big Muddy to Aspen Ridge, travelers could avoid the rugged terrain that the immigrants of 1846 and 1847 had struggled across. Consequently, east of Aspen Mountain the "Ridge Road of 1848-68" was substantially different from the route that Edwin Bryant and William Clayton described in their journals.[38]

By 1849, Hastings Cutoff had become "jammed with traffic." Perhaps 15,000 gold seekers traveled the route between 1849 and 1850 after the discovery of gold in California had moved "a vast multitude" of people to rush across the continent's "immense plains and deserts, and over tremendous mountains, flushed with high hopes and eager to fill their coffers with the glittering dust." Mormon Church historical records estimate that nearly 19,000 Mormon immigrants used the trail from Fort Bridger into Salt Lake City between 1847 and 1855. Soon after the trains of 1846 and 1847 had ended their journeys, however, wayfarers quickly forgot the title Hastings Cutoff and simply began calling the route from Fort Bridger to Salt Lake City "the Mormon Trail," or as Captain Howard Stansbury called it in 1850, "the Mormon Road."[39]

[34] Clayton Family, *Journal*, 287-88; Korns, "West from Fort Bridger," map between 52-53; Clayton, *Emigrants' Guide*, 18.

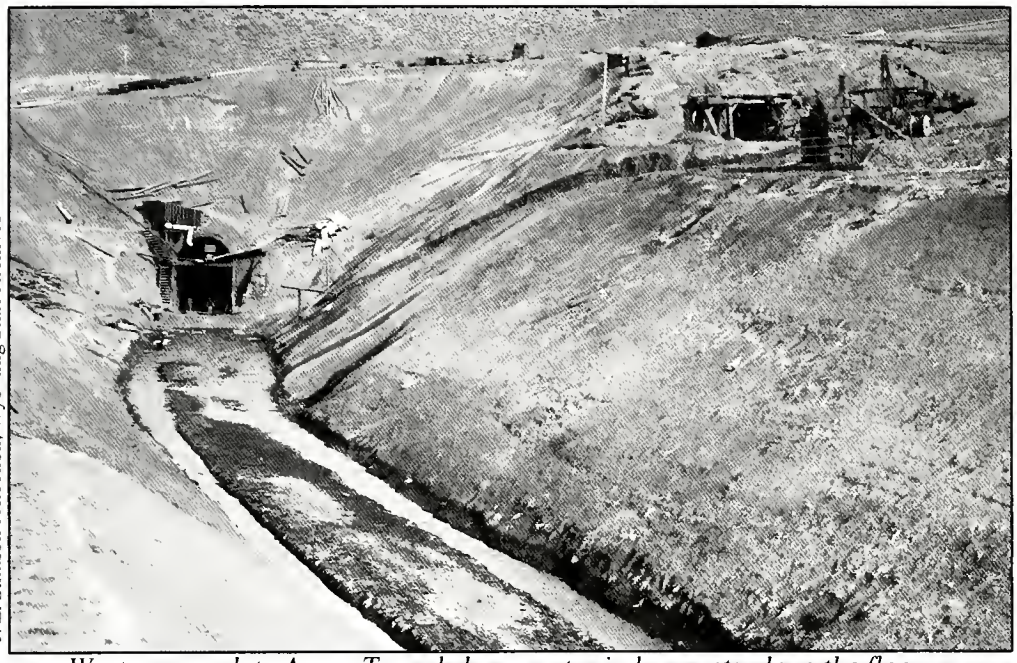
[35] Clayton Family, *Journal*, 288; Clayton, *Emigrants' Guide*, 18; Korns, "West from Fort Bridger," map between 52-53.

[36] Clayton Family, *Journal*, 288-89; Korns, "West from Fort Bridger," map between 52-53; Department of the Interior, "Sulphur Creek Reservoir"; Clayton, *Emigrants' Guide*, 18. Sir Richard Burton called Oyster Shell Ridge "Rim Base." Describing his descending this ridge to Sulphur Creek, he stated that the creek "lies at the foot of a mountain called Rim Base, because it is the Eastern wall of the Great Inland Basin; westward of this point the waters can no longer reach the Atlantic or Pacific...." Burton, *City of the Saints*, 225.

[37] Clayton Family, *Journal*, 288-89; Clayton, *Emigrants' Guide*, 24.

[38] Korns, "West from Fort Bridger," 57, and map between 52-53.

[39] Langworthy, Scenery, iii; Fred R. Gowans and Eugene E. Campbell, *Fort Bridger* (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1975), 34; LDS Historical Office, Church Emigration Book: 1 (n.p), n.p.; Charles Kelly, "Gold Seekers on the Hastings Cutoff," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 20 (January 1952), 9, 13; Madsen, *Exploring the Great Salt Lake*, 146.



J. E. Stimson collection, Wyoming State Archives

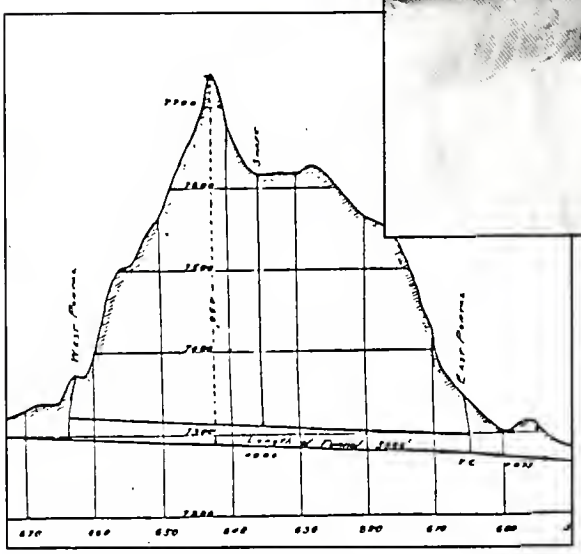
West approach to Aspen Tunnel shows water in low spots along the floor.

Author's collection

Aspen Tunnel-- East to West

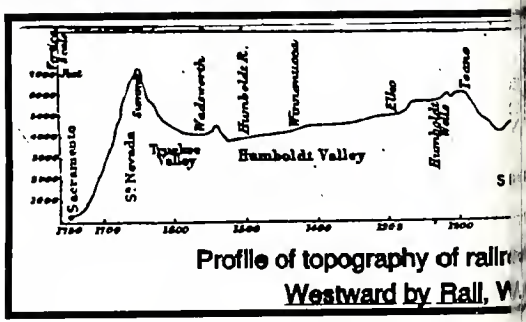
J. E. Stimson collection, Wyoming State Archives

Concrete work, inside the tunnel's west end.



From Railway and Engineering Review, Aug. 17, 1901.

(Left) Profile of tunnel, approaches and shaft on Aspen Ridge.(Right) Map of route of the Union Pacific Railroad showing elevations

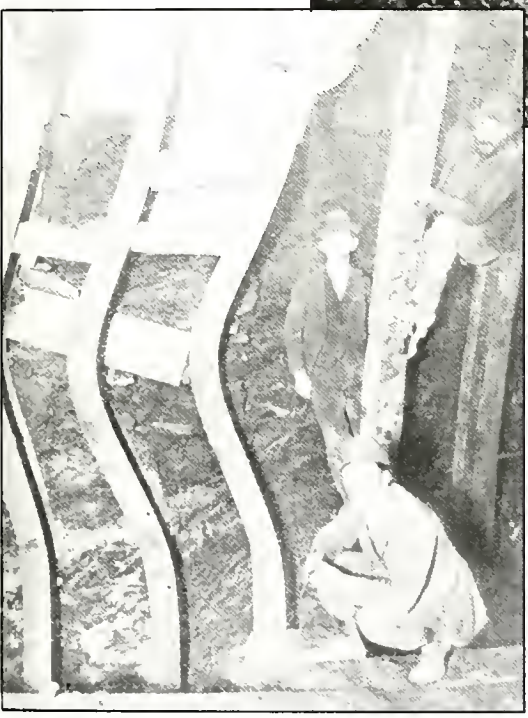


Profile of topography of railr
Westward by Rail, W

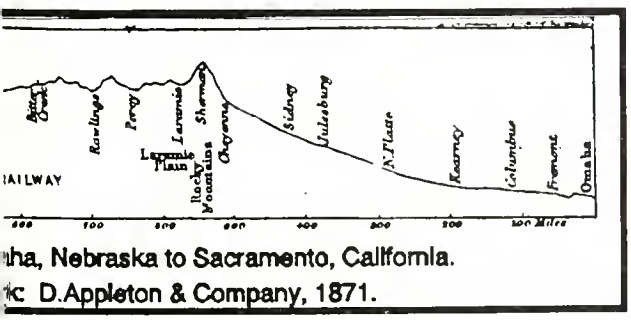
kers in the
heading, Aspen Tunnel.

J. E. Stimson collection, Wyoming State Archives

(Above): Steam shovel and tram cars at the east entrance to Aspen Tunnel. Note the house above the entrance and the ventilation pipe leading into the heading. (Below): Pioneer Gulch, east entrance to Aspen Tunnel.

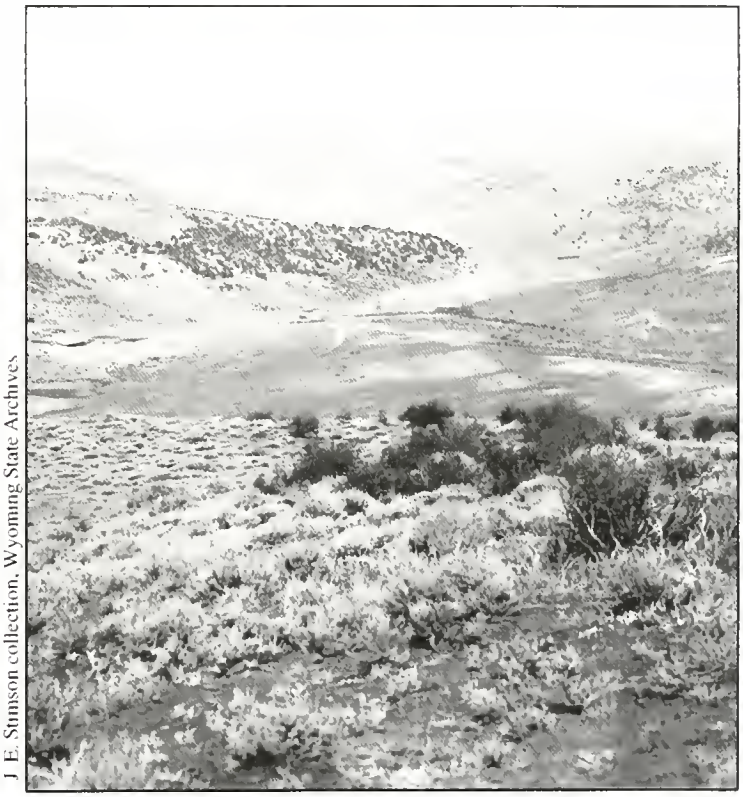


Steel I-beams bent from tunnel's tremendous lateral force.



ha, Nebraska to Sacramento, California.
c: D.Appleton & Company, 1871.

J. E. Stimson collection, Wyoming State Archives



The Stage Road

Before the Union Pacific constructed its original grade over Aspen Ridge, travelers applied one last title to a network of trails that included Hastings Cutoff from Fort Bridger to Salt Lake City: "The Old Overland Stage Route." As early as 1854, John M. Hockaday and William Liggett transported mail, express packages, and passengers from St. Joseph, Missouri, to Salt Lake City, using Hastings' route over Aspen Ridge. Their service required twenty-one days to complete the journey that Hockaday and Liggett performed with "a limited number of light, cheap vehicles," a scant number of animals, and no stations along the route.[40]

In May 1859 two freighters, William Hepburn Russell of Russell, Majors and Waddell, and John S. Jones purchased Hockaday and Liggett's company and improved stagecoach express service from St. Joseph to Salt Lake City. Establishing stations along their route, one near Big Muddy Creek and another at Bear River, Russell and Company used new Concord coaches and shortened the time of the trip to ten days each way.[41] Each coach had a team of "six handsome horses or mules" which the company changed approximately every ten miles. A conductor, "the legitimate captain of the strange craft in its long journey across the continent," was in charge of baggage, mail, express, and passengers, while a driver operated the coach, traveling at a rate of eight or ten miles an hour on "good roads."[42]

Despite the efficiency of their stagecoach service, Russell and Jones suffered economic difficulties from the very beginning of their operations. Even when Russell initiated the famous and financially successful Pony Express in 1860, he and all of his associated freighting ventures went bankrupt. Ben Holladay, another transportation entrepreneur, purchased Russell's stagecoach company and began running his own daily passenger and mail service from Atchison, Kansas to Salt Lake City. Maintaining forty-six stations between Denver and Salt Lake City, Holladay added Quaking Asp Springs to the two already existing between Fort Bridger and Bear River. After four years of prosperity Holladay sold his holdings to Wells, Fargo and Company, thus completing a "grand consolidation of all the major express and stagecoach lines west of the Missouri."[43]

A number of historically interesting passengers traveled the "Old Overland Stage Route" as it followed Hastings Cutoff from Fort Bridger, over Aspen Ridge, and down to the Bear River crossing. On May 9, 1859, Horace Greeley, *New York Tribune* editor, embarked on "a most remarkable journey" from New York to San Francisco. Boarding a stagecoach at Atchison, he passed through Denver, up to Fort Laramie, and west to Fort Bridger before entering Lansford Hastings' route to Salt Lake City by way of Aspen summit. West of Fort Bridger, Greeley's coach followed along a "high, broad ridge," then descended a "steep, rocky, difficult hill" to Big Muddy Creek. While this trip's passengers were scheduled to stay over night at the Muddy station, their conductor "wisely decided" to proceed westward as far as possible before stopping for the night.[44] Of this portion of the journey Greeley recorded:

> We moved on a little after sundown, rising over another broad ridge [Aspen Summit], and, after narrowly escaping an upset in a gully dug in the trail by that day's violent shower, camped 15 miles on, a little after 11 P.M. The sky was densely clouded; the moon nearly down; it was raining a little and blowing more, as we lay down to rest, most of us under the sullen sky.[45]

At dawn the next day, Greeley's party resumed their journey, traveling the "three or four miles" distance to the stage line's Bear River station where they stopped for breakfast. A grocery store made of "boxes which had once contained goods," and a blacksmith's shop were the only buildings at the station. Being offered "sardines, canned lobster, and prepared coffee," various passengers demanded whisky and became "indignantly disgusted at its non-production." After obtaining "some kind of 'rot,' as the fiery beverage was currently

[40] Emmett D. Chisum, "Boom Towns on the Union Pacific," *Annals of Wyoming* 53 (Spring 1981): 10; U. S. Department of the Interior, Geography and Geology, Plate XXVI; C.B. Coutant, *History of Wyoming and "The Far West"* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1966), 362; Henry Inman and William F. Cody, *The Great Salt Lake Trail* (Williamstown, Mass.: Corner House Publishers, 1978), 214.

[41] Lamar, *Reader's Encyclopedia*, 188, 1053; Inman and Cody, *Great Salt Lake Trail*, 213; Elizabeth Arnold Stone, *Uinta County* (Laramie, Wyo.: Laramie Printing Company, 1924), 76; Paul Bailey, *Holy Smoke* (Los Angeles, California: Westernlore Books, 1978), 104, 105; Settle, *War Drums*, 53-55, 71-73, 77-80; Lamar, *Reader's Encyclopedia*, 1053, 1054. United States, 35th Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives. Contracts-Utah Expedition Executive Document No. 99 (Washington: G.P.O., 1858), 1-5.

[42] Inman and Cody, *Salt Lake Trail*, 214.

[43] Lamar, *Reader's Encyclopedia*, 506, 949, 1054, 1251; J.V. Frederick, Ben Holladay, *The Stagecoach King* (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1940), 64, 103; Table of Distances of the Overland Daily Stage Line, from Atchison, Kansas, to Great Salt Lake City (New York: Slote & James, 1863), n.p.

[44] Horace Greeley, *An Overland Journey from New York to San Francisco in the Summer of 1859* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), xi, xxii, xxiii, 13, 168; Frank A. Root and William Elsey Connelley, *The Overland Stage to California* (Glorieta, New Mexico: The Rio Grande Press, Inc., 1970), 27.

[45] Greeley, *Overland Journey*, 168.

designated," from a nearby establishment, Greeley and his companions forded the Bear River, "a swift, rocky-bottomed creek, now perhaps forty yards wide, but hardly three feet deep...." Here the group veered to the west and traveled up Stagecoach Hollow, leaving behind the route that nine years later would approximate the Union Pacific's roadbed up Bear River Valley, toward Evanston, Wyoming.[46]

Sir Richard Burton was another prominent traveler on the stagecoach route from St. Joseph and he left a particularly vivid record of crossing over Aspen Ridge on his way to "Gt.S.L. City." His stagecoach ride began on August 7, 1860, at "precisely 8:00 A.M" when "the vehicle destined to be our home for the next three weeks" arrived at the Patie Hotel, "the Fifth Avenue Hotel of St. Jo." Reaching Fort Bridger in late August, Burton stayed overnight, then resumed his journey. Between the fort and Big Muddy Creek his Concord coach encountered a steep, "zigzag" course with a "rough stone wall" running along many of the path's sharper turns. Once at Muddy Creek station he met the innkeeper whom he described as "a chatty lively good-humoured fellow blessed with a sour English wife." The wife, Burton conjectured, was probably under the influence of August's 95-degree Fahrenheit weather—at noon and in the shade.[47]

Burton's description of Hastings Cutoff's geography from Big Muddy Creek to Bear River is classic. Bidding "adieu" to Muddy's station master at midday, Burton and his fellow sojourners entered a "broken land" of hills, spurs, ridges, and red bluffs thick with "tall firs and pines" and "note-paper-coloured trunks of the ravine-loving quaking asp." Over the summit of "Quaking Asp Hill," he began a long, sharp, and "exceedingly devious" descent toward Sulphur Creek. The road was lined with "stunted oak, black-jack, and box-elder of the stateliest stature" while on the slopes above grew "the wild cherry" and below "the service tree" filled the hollows.[48] Burton explained that his stagecoach's descent was so breathtakingly rapid that:

> Oftentimes when the block of wood which formed our break dropped a bit of the old shoe-sole nailed upon it to prevent ignition, I felt, as a man may be excused for feeling, that catching of the breath that precedes the first five-barred gate after a night of "heavy wet."[49]

Once off Aspen Ridge Burton states, "As the rays of the sun began to slant we made Sulphur Creek." Beyond this creek the country's physical condition changed into a "confused" upheaval of "huge masses of rock and mountains broken by deep kanyons [sic], ravines, and water-gaps, and drained by innumerable streamlets." Burton was now traveling through a region that more than a century later geologists would call the "Overthrust Belt." After crossing Sulphur Creek the coach proceeded through a "small divide" that led to "the plain of the Bear River a translation of the Indian Kuiyapa." From here Burton, like William Clayton, Horace Greeley and so many others before him, departed from the future course of the Union Pacific's route, and followed the stage road due west into Utah.[50]

Railroad Exploration

Four years after Burton's stagecoach adventure over Aspen Summit, Samuel B. Reed, an engineer for the newly formed Union Pacific Railroad, explored the same region to select the railroad's original route leading through the Aspen region. Supplied out of Mormon storehouses in Utah Territory in the summer of 1864, Reed led a survey party north from Salt Lake City to the mouth of Weber Canyon. Following the "deep narrow gorge" of the Weber River to its junction with Echo Creek and then turning eastward to Bear River, he became filled with an appreciative sense of nature:

> The challenge of finding a good line through the wilderness drove [Reed] joyously onward. He came to love the country itself-its spectacular beauty, the hard, clean brilliance of the air, the warm days, and cold nights when ice as thick as window panes formed on the dishes even

[46] Ibid., 169-170; Korns, "West from Fort Bridger," map between 52-53.

[47] Burton, *City of the Saints*, 220, 223. The "zigzag" course is probably at Meyers Ridge which leads off Bigelow Bench four miles south of the place where Clayton's party departed the bench. U.S. Department of Interior, United States Geological Survey, "Hague Creek Quadrangle: Wyoming-Uinta Co." 7.5 Minute Series (Topographic)(1965 [Photorevised 1978]); Department of the Interior, "LeRoy Quadrangle."

[48] Burton, *City of the Saints*, 224.

[49] Ibid., 224. J.H. Beadle, Western author and editor of the *Salt Lake Reporter* from 1869 to 1871, traveled the stage route over Aspen Ridge in the summer of 1869. His description resembles Burton's account. Beadle added, however, that a "dug way" led down the steep western slope of "Quakenasp Hill." Stone, *Uinta County*, 81.

[50] Burton, *City of the Saints*, 225. In 1905 A.C. Veatch analyzed the province's disturbed geology. After studying the log of an oil company's well near the old overland stage route along Sulphur Creek, Veatch concluded, "the strata here [at the oil company's site] are on the upper edge of an overturned and faulted syncline, and the bottom of the well is in younger strata than the top." U. S. Department of the Interior, *Geography and Geology*, 146. In the 1970s petroleum geologists pieced together a more precise picture of the character of this region, defining it as a part of the vast Rocky Mountain chain they called the "Overthrust Belt" which runs from Alaska to Mexico.

> in summer. Life was elemental and palpable, stripped of all cant, transparent in its excitement as well as its dangers. Reed had made in fact what would become in fiction a central theme of American experience: the pilgrimage from civilization back to nature.[51]

From Bear River, Reed's survey party traveled to Sulphur Creek and climbed over Aspen Ridge before winding downward along the course of Big Muddy Creek to Black's Fork and Green River where they found the country to be mostly "desert unrelieved by vegetation except for scattered patches of greasewood and sagebrush." Reed turned back to Salt Lake City where, in mid-August, he "pitched his tent in Brigham Young's yard."[52]

Following Reed's survey, and nearly one quarter of a century after Walker guided Joseph Chiles and his party's wagons over Aspen Ridge, harbingers of the Union Pacific's advance began to appear. In 1867 Moses Byrne and his wife, Katherine, settled on Aspen Ridge's eastern slope at a place known as Piedmont where loggers soon built a tent town to serve as their headquarters for manufacturing wooden ties for the Union Pacific Railroad. At first Moses Byrne's settlement was known as Byrne but this name was too similar to a nearby Union Pacific station called Bryan, so residents of Byrne began calling their community "Piedmont" in honor of Katherine Byrne and her sister Marie M. Cardon Guild, wife of a second pioneer resident of Piedmont, Charles Guild. Katherine Byrne and Marie Guild were originally from Piedmont, Italy.[53]

West of Aspen summit, at a site on Sulphur Creek "in a little valley at the mouth of a ravine, where the old overland stage road comes down from the north of Quaking Asp Mountain," a second logging camp called Gilmer came into existence in 1867 to house "timber drivers, tree choppers and their families."[54] Gilmer derived its name from Jack Gilmer, "the Western Stagecoach King," who once served as a division superintendent for Ben Holladay's stage line, and who later built

[51] Klein, *Union Pacific*, 54.

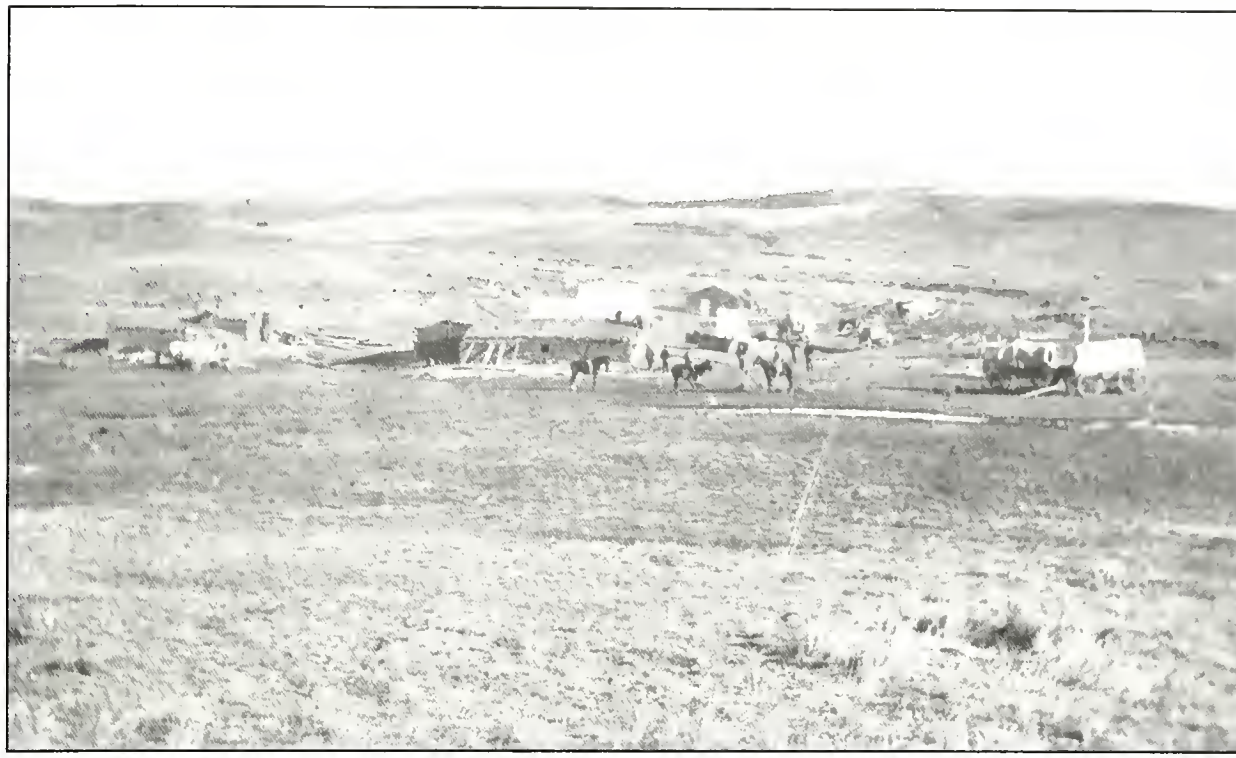
[52] Ibid., 53-55. Simultaneously, James A. Evans, a second engineer for the Union Pacific Railroad, surveyed the route westward into Wyoming from the Nebraska border to Green River. The town of Evanston, Wyoming, which came into being as the railroad extended its original grade up Bear River Valley in late 1868, took its name from Evans. Stone, *Uinta County*, 85.

[53] Stone, *Uinta County*, 88; Phyllis J. Martin, *Uinta County Cemetery Records* (Evanston, Wyo.: Phyllis J. Martin, 1983), 229, 283.

[54] Stone, *Uinta County*, 88; Clifford C. Stuart, Jr., "Piedmont-Profile of a Ghost Town," *Annals of Wyoming* 41 (Spring 1969), 126; Kate B. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1971), 14: 181, 182; Chisum, "Boom Towns," 10; Margaret MacAllister, "Bear River City," *Annals of Wyoming* 41 (Spring 1969), 125.

John S. Casement (above). His crews laid track up Big Muddy Creek (left)

Both Photos: Andrew J. Russell Collection, The Oakland Museum of California



Andrew J. Russell Collection, Oakland Museum of California

UP graders' camp, Quaking Asp Hill

his own transportation empire. In 1868 the settlement of Gilmer became known as Bear River City, a railroad town of an estimated 2,000 residents. This settlement aspired to become a permanent rail center and at one time contained boarding houses, Legh Freeman's Frontier Index newspaper, a number of saloons and gambling establishments, Alex Topence's slaughter house, general stores, a shoe shop, and Throp, Head and Steele's coal mine which produced seven-dollar-a-ton coal from a nearby vein at Oyster Shell Ridge. The general stores carried a "large stock of goods in hopes that the town would become the winter quarters for the railroad." By mid-November 1868, violence had rocked Bear River City to such an extent that vigilantes hanged three outlaws, and soon after approximately twenty-one men died in a "display of musketry" that caused the federal government to send troops from Fort Bridger to establish martial law in the town. Once construction workers had laid tracks close to Bear River City, the Union Pacific refused to provide a siding into the settlement. The boomtown went out of business, leaving few signs of its ever having existed.[55]

Soon after the founding of Piedmont and Gilmer, General Jack Casement, "star of the [Union Pacific's] track forces," drove his Irish rail layers into the Hastings Cutoff region. Crossing Red Desert in August 1868 and Green River in September, Casement pushed hard for Aspen Summit and beyond so that he could "get into the Salt Lake valley before the heavy snows fall." His route, following the banks of Big Muddy Creek, bypassed Fort Bridger by sweeping eleven miles north of the old trapper's outpost.[56]

Keeping to the Big Muddy, Casement curved his tracks southward as the creek curved, then turned eastward at Muddy Creek Butte and south again at Dog Springs, continuing all the time to hug the stream. Staying west of the steep Meyers Ridge as it rose toward Aspen Ridge, the general took his rails uphill from Dog Springs, elevation 6,843 feet, to Piedmont, 7,059 feet, where "great stacks of ties" awaited his crews. He was in a hurry but the next nine miles to the top of Aspen Ridge were arduous, causing his tracklayers to put down a road over the "highest fills and deepest cuts, all done by hand labor, anywhere on the Union Pacific's original route." Ascending the ridge south of the summit of Aspen Mountain, Casement pursued an "exceedingly sinuous" course to negotiate Horseshoe Bend, elevation 7,380 feet, then topped the ridge at the "cel-

[55] George A. Thompson, *Throw Down the Box!* (Salt Lake City: Dream Garden Press, 1989), 100; Chisum, "Boom Towns," 10-12; Carter, *Pioneer Heritage*, 125, 126.

[56] Barry B. Combs, *Westward to Promontory* (New York: Promontory Press, 1969), 43; Edwin L. Sabin, *Building the Union Pacific Railway* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1919), 172, 173, 178; Robert G. Athearn, *Union Pacific Country* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1971), 67; L.C. Bishop, *Historical Emigrant Road Series* (Cheyenne: Wyoming State Archives & Historical Dept., c1959), sheet 4; Korns, "West from Fort Bridger," map between 52-53.

ebrated Tapioca Hill, a difficult piece of road to operate at all times of the year, requiring helping engines for heavy trains in both directions." At nearly 7,500 feet, the Union Pacific's rails seemed to hang "high in air."[57]

The season was late as General Casement began his Aspen Ridge descent to Bear River City. Following the course of Aspen Creek to LaChapella Creek at 7,293 feet, Casement led his Irish workers through Rock Cut, onto Hilliard Flat—site of the future railroad and lumber manufacturing community of Hilliard—and then northwest to Gilmer [later known as Bear River City].[58]

But, as his "army of workers" drove their rails through a gap from Gilmer to the Bear River's "broad, marshy flood plain,"[59] and northward toward Evanston, the weather turned against Casement:

> Upon the heights winter was marshaling its snow and cold as an army of occupation. The advance already possessed the weighted pines and denuded the feebler aspens; the grade was beleaguered by ambush — the white-clad soldiers had arrived in millions. In close touch with the stage once more, the rails plunged down for the Wasatch passes, thirty miles before; struck the Bear River and waiting Bear River City, of unsavory reputation; crossed on a trestle 600 feet long, advanced through the Wasatch pass, 1000 feet lower than Aspen, toiled through the Evanston coal depot (named for James Evans, late division engineer), where the snow was climbing for the eaves of the clustered shacks and staggering on, hard beset, with the end of the year established winter terminus at the rude haven of Wasatch....[60]

This original grade through the Aspen Ridge portion of Hastings Cutoff served the Union Pacific for thirty-three years. Horace G. Burt's excursions into the region in 1898, however, heralded his railroad company's intent to alter the old road in much the same manner as the establishment of Piedmont and Gilmer foretold the eventual approach of General Casement's Irish tracklayers. Designing a new route the Union Pacific called LeRoy-Bear River Cutoff, Burt's chief engineer, J.B. Berry, planned a line that eliminated 9.56 miles of track and lowered the route by 200 feet between LeRoy and Bear River.[61]

Berry's new line followed Big Muddy Creek to Muddy Creek Butte, but there it left the original grade and turned southwest to follow Antelope Creek. As it gained altitude toward the railroad company's new coal-mining town called Spring Valley, it joined Edwin Bryant's 1846 trail leading into Pioneer Hollow where in 1847 William Clayton wrote that members of the first Mormon emigrants "had to dig a place considerably to make a pass between two mountains." Ascending Pioneer Hollow, the railroad's new path ran into Aspen Ridge, Bryant's "impassable barrier," two miles north of the peak of Aspen Mountain. Instead of detouring around this barrier as the Bryant-Russell party had done, the Union Pacific drew up elaborate plans to drive its 5,900-foot Aspen Tunnel straight through the steep ridge. On the west side of this barrier the railway's route rejoined Bryant's trail to descend Stowe Creek, pass through a gap between Oyster Shell and Knight ridges, and continue downward to Bear River Valley, approximately four miles north of where the original grade came onto the flood plain.[62]

The Aspen Tunnel

Key to the entire LeRoy-Bear River Cutoff was Aspen Tunnel. Being the longest tunnel the railroad completed during its 1899 to 1901 scheme of projects in Wyoming, contemporary writers billed it as "one of the greatest features of improvement" that the Union Pacific accomplished in these years.[63] Civil engineer W.P. Hardesty of Salt Lake City drew attention to the strategic nature of the tunnel when he wrote:

[57] Korns, "West from Fort Bridger," map between 52-53; U.S. Department of the Interior, United States Geological Survey, "Ragan Quadrangle: Wyoming-Uinta Co." 7.5 Minute Series (Topographic)(1965 [Photorevised 1978]); Department of the Interior, "LeRoy Quadrangle"; Department of the Interior, "Hague Creek"; Department of the Interior, "Piedmont Reservoir Quadrangle"; Sabin, *Building the Union Pacific*, 178, 181; D. Ray Wilson, *Wyoming Historical Tour Guide* (Carpentersville, Ill.: Crossroads Communications, 1984), 98; Hardesty, "Construction of the Aspen, Wyoming, Tunnel," 185; "Revision of Grades," 534.

[58] Department of the Interior, "Piedmont Reservoir Quadrangle"; Department of the Interior, "Sulphur Creek Reservoir Quadrangle." Hilliard came into existence as a railroad station and charcoal-manufacturing community soon after the Union Pacific laid its rails across Hilliard Flat. In 1872 the Hilliard Flume and Lumber Company began to construct a thirty-mile "V" shaped trough from Gold Hill in the Uinta Mountains to Hilliard. Members of the flume company included William Sloan, John W. Kerr, Fred Meyers, Homer King, and Alexander Topence. The flume took three years to complete and cost them $175,000. Tie hacks in the Uintas floated "immense quantities of lumber, ties, telegraph poles, cordwood" down the flume. Thirty-two beehive-shaped kilns at Hilliard used four-foot-long cordwood to produce charcoal for smelting furnaces in Salt Lake City, Virginia City, Eureka, and San Francisco. In the 1870s Hilliard had a population of 400 citizens. Carter, *Pioneer Heritage*, 182; L.J. Colton, "Early Day Timber Cutting Along the Upper Bear River," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 35 (Summer 1967), 204-207; Margaret Moore Lester, *From Rags to Riches* (Evanston, Wyo.: 1st Impressions, 1992), 4.

[59] Chisum, "Boom Towns," 3, 11; Department of the Interior, *Guidebook of the Western United States*, 80.

[60] Sabin, *Building the Union Pacific*, 181.

[61] *Wyoming Press*, May 3, 1902; Hardesty, "Construction of the Aspen, Wyoming, Tunnel," 188.

[62] Korns, "West from Fort Bridger," map between 52-53, 57; Department of the Interior, "Ragan Quadrangle"; "Piedmont Reservoir Quadrangle"; "Sulphur Creek Reservoir Quadrangle"; "Millis Quadrangle."Clayton Family, *Journal*, 288.

[63] *Wyoming Press*, May 3, 1902.

> The new line is much more direct and requires less of a climb [than the original grade over Aspen Ridge], but to secure this advantage it has been necessary to construct a tunnel of unusual length.[64]

Union Pacific officials designed Aspen Tunnel to cover a distance of 5,900 feet with a west-to-east dip of 0.4%. They located the tunnel at a point where the ridge rose to a height of nearly 7,750 feet. To reduce the tunnel's length designers planned long, deep open-cut approaches to both the east and west portals. Estimating that very little of the tunnel's interior would require timber bracing, Union Pacific planners felt that solid rock within the bore would support the major portion of the walls which were designed to be seventeen feet high with an arched ceiling curving upward for another eight feet. The tunnel's floor was to be fourteen feet wide at track level and sixteen feet at a point fourteen feet above the floor, thus allowing room for a single track to run the length of the tunnel. To accelerate construction, workers were to dig a shaft over the tunnel's center line, approximately 3,050 feet from the east entrance. Once this shaft reached the level of the tunnel roof, 331 feet from the surface of Aspen Ridge, laborers would then dig outward toward both the east and west entrances.[65]

Construction crews began working on Aspen Tunnel on November 16, 1899, thirty-one years to the month after General Jack Casement marched his tracklayers into the Aspen Ridge region. Kilpatrick Brothers and Collins of Beatrice, Nebraska, was the general contractor for the tunnel project, and S.D. Kilpatrick established his company's headquarters at Aspen Station from where he shuttled "tons of supplies" daily to the various camp and construction sites. W.C. Weedin of Evanston served as the tunnel's resident engineer while Daniel Lyon supervised the first construction phase which included the sinking of the 331-foot shaft.[66]

As workers dug the shaft Kilpatrick built a large power plant in Pioneer Hollow, approximately one-half mile east of the tunnel's east portal. This plant included four boilers and three air compressors to operate air drills and scoop shovels, and to provide fresh air for the shaft and the tunnel. In addition this facility housed an "extensive machine shop" and an "immense electric light plant."[67]

While one set of workers excavated the shaft other men began scooping out the tunnel's approaches and headings (the eight-foot tall ceilings). On the east side of Aspen Ridge Kilpatrick's employees cut a 2,200-foot-long approach through Pioneer Hollow and removed 250,000 cubic yards of material before commencing work on the heading on April 12, 1900. At the other end laborers initiated work on the west heading on March 14, 1900, after using a clam-shell dredge to scoop out a fifty-foot deep pit. This pit allowed them to begin digging the heading in advance of separate crews who were carving out a 2,600-foot-long approach which required the removal of 177,000 cubic yards of material, 58,000 cubic yards being solid rock.[68]

Construction plans called for completing the tunnel in three sections, the first being the headings which would be followed by two sections of bench work (the bench being the main portion of the tunnel leading from the floor to the beginning of the arched ceiling or heading). Laborers digging the east and west headings started several months ahead of the bench crews and excavated approximately fifteen to eighteen feet of tunnel a day. Using four-by-twelve-inch timbers, they fashioned a ribbed archway that lined the headings to prevent cave-ins as they worked. These crews finished the ceiling work on September 8, 1901, a little over eighteen months after they began the west heading.[69]

Workers began to dig out the tunnel's bench during the summer of 1900. Engineers divided this bench into two "lifts" or levels: an upper bench that was six feet deep; and a lower bench totalling eleven feet in depth. Excavation crews started removing the west end's upper bench on July 13, 1900, by first blasting the bench's rock loose, then by shovelling the rubble or "muck" into wheelbarrows. They transported their wheel barrow loads down a gangplank to a spot where a compressed-air shovel scooped the muck into waiting tram cars. Horses pulled these cars along a two-foot-gauge track that led out of the tunnel to a large dugway pit where workmen dumped the rubble. At the east entrance laborers began blasting out the upper bench on September 17, 1900. Here the digging was much easier than at the west end so Kilpatrick's crews simply shovelled the muck down from the upper shelf to the

[64] Hardesty, "The Construction of the Aspen, Wyoming, Tunnel," 185.

[65] Ibid., 185; "Revision of Grades and Alignment, Union Pacific R.R.-The Aspen Tunnel," *Railway and Engineering Review* 41 (August 17, 1901), 546.

[66] Hardesty, "Construction of the Aspen, Wyoming, Tunnel," 186, 188; *Wyoming Press*, May 3, 1902; Department of the Interior, *Western United States*, 78.

[67] Hardesty, "Construction of the Aspen, Wyoming, Tunnel," 187; *Wyoming Press*, January 20, 1900, March 3, 1900.

[68] Hardesty, "Construction of the Aspen, Wyoming, Tunnel," 185, 186; "Revision of Grades and Alignment," 547, 548

[69] Hardesty, "Construction of the Aspen, Wyoming, Tunnel," 185, 186; "Revision of Grades and Alignment," 548.

tram cars and a crane operator. A small locomotive called a "dinkey" engine pulled the full trams out of the tunnel and to groups of workers who used the material for embankment projects. Teams from the two tunnel ends completed the bench work in early October 1901.[70]

Despite the Union Pacific's elaborate engineering plans and Kilpatrick Bros & Collins' legions of workers and tons of supplies, Aspen Ridge proved to be a very difficult mountain to tunnel. Within weeks of initiating their work, serious problems began to plague Daniel Lyon's men who had started the shaft over the center of the tunnel. At first they proceeded without mishap as they dug through yellow, blue and red clays, soft and hard sandstones, and black shale, but on February 3, 1900, while digging into a "very hard bluish-grey shale," they encountered a strong flow of water.[71] Resident engineer K.C. Weedin explained the incident to geologist A.C. Veatch in 1905:

> Water was struck at a depth of 257 feet, driving out men and causing suspension of work. February 16, at 5 p.m., a Cameron double-plunger vertical mining pump No. 5 was set to work, water being then 126.6 feet deep in shaft. With this the shaft was pumped clear at 7 a.m. February 26, pump having run night and day without interruption. The work of excavation was then resumed.[72]

Water continued to enter the shaft until by March 10, 1900, it reached a volume of 48,000 gallons a day, causing workers to replace the Cameron No. 5 with a larger pump. This soon proved insufficient because the flow of water again increased to nearly 75,000 gallons per day. On April 1, 1900, crews began using both Cameron pumps in the shaft, ultimately taking out 100,000 gallons of water a day.[73]

On April 20, 1900, shaft workers reached the roof level of Aspen Tunnel. From here they started digging out headings toward both the east and west portals. Two-hundred and fifty feet into the heading work they hit yet another "large stream of water," this time, the flow estimated at 300,000 gallons a day. These workers "barely escaped with their lives." At this point Lyon abandoned the shaft project and put the two large Cameron pumps with three smaller units to work pumping out the main portions of the tunnel.[74]

Outside the tunnel, surface water became a problem. At the east end, mud slides kept occurring along the approach's embankment, so crews ran deep ditches along the top of the north and south sides of the embankment to drain the water that flowed down Aspen Ridge. Then, along the north side of the approach's floor, laborers dug a drainage trench and connected this to the south side of the floor using a series of ten-inch pipes. Workers also put in "heavy ditching" along the

[70] Hardesty, "Construction of the Aspen, Wyoming, Tunnel,"186, 187; "Revision of Grades and Alignment," 547.
[71] Hardesty, "Construction of the Aspen, Wyoming, Tunnel," 186; Department of the Interior, Geography and Geology, 148-149. Ironically, in 1900, the Union Pacific Coal Company hired L.E. Nebergall to drill for water at Spring Valley, just a few miles northeast of Aspen Tunnel. Nebergall found oil instead of water as he drilled, and this discovery stimulated a minor oil boom in the LeRoy-Bear River Cutoff region. Ibid., 143, 147.
[72] Ibid., 149.
[73] Hardesty, "Construction of the Aspen, Wyoming, Tunnel," 186; Department of the Interior, Geography and Geology, 148, 149.
[74] Hardesty, "Construction of the Aspen, Wyoming, Tunnel," 185-187; "Roadbed Improvements," 143.

Power House, east end of Aspen Tunnel, Pioneer Hollow

J. E. Stimson photograph, Wyoming State Archives

western approach and built a dam above the portal "to intercept and hold" water streaming down from above.[75]

Rock pressure became Aspen Tunnel's second major problem. At first engineers estimated that the project's contractors needed only to line the tunnel with 12 x 12 inch timbers at a space of five for every sixteen feet of wall. Workers quickly learned that this plan was inadequate because of tremendous rock pressure from all directions within the bore which crushed timbers as if they were "pipe stems" and left supporting wall plates "not much more than one half their former thickness." Nearly six hundred feet inside the west entrance the pressure was so great that not even a "solid wall of timbers" could stop the bulkhead from pushing inward at a velocity of almost one inch per day. While some officials attributed this pressure simply to the weight of "overlaying strata," University of Wyoming geology professor W.C. Knight suggested that a "swelling of the shale due to oxidation by contact with the air" caused the difficulty.[76] Whatever its cause this problem greatly alarmed those who had to work within the tunnel, as reflected in an Evanston newspaper report in early 1901:

> Men coming from the Aspen tunnel state that the west portal of the tunnel is in a very dangerous condition, and it is almost impossible to get men to work on that end. Although the tunnel is well timbered, the strong pressure from the mountain above causes numerous cave-ins.[77]

Engineers ultimately solved this dilemma by having the tunnel workers replace the demolished timbers section by section, and by having these men replace the timbers with a thick wall of I-beam ribs and concrete. Calculating that the pressure was slow enough to allow concrete to harden sufficiently to resist the swelling rock, railroad officials imported concrete expert J.L. Neff from Cheyenne to Aspen Ridge to oversee the lining project. Neff supervised the crews that put the I-beam ribs in place and encased these beams in a three-foot-thick layer of concrete. To keep the floor from heaving, Neff had his workers pour a five and one-half foot deep floor of concrete over a bed of old rails that formed a criss-cross pattern. By the time the men had finished their lining and flooring work, they had removed 200,000 feet of broken timbers and had created a solid wall of concrete and iron that extended 1,700 feet along the western portion of the tunnel.[78]

The floor that Neff laid was so strong and effective that when the Union Pacific enlarged the tunnel in 1975, its contractor, Morrison-Knudson, discovered that its workers had to "blast" out the old concrete section by section to lower the floor five feet. Speaking of the effort his crews exerted to loosen the flooring material, supervisor David Monson exclaimed, "This is probably the toughest assignment I've ever had."[79]

The presence of natural gas inside Aspen Tunnel proved to be the project's most deadly problem. Whenever the Union Pacific engaged in underground work in the region, it met with disaster born of the existence of explosive gases. In the Almy coal mines north of Evanston, the combination of methane gas and coal dust caused numerous explosions and resulted in the death of 112 Union Pacific and Central Pacific miners from 1881 to 1895. Once the Union Pacific abandoned its Almy operations in 1899, it opened a coal mine at Spring Valley only to shut it down in 1905 after gas began pouring into the mine's lower workings.[80]

Gas became a serious problem in Aspen Tunnel in late 1900 as workers carved out the west end's bench. When excavation crews first discovered gas inside the tunnel, they playfully ignited it with their pipes "just to see it flare up and burn." On December 10, 1900, however, they flared a pocket of gas that began to fill the tunnel with flames. Very quickly this fire started burning the bore's timber lining so laborers hastily built a wall at the west entrance to seal off and smother the now-raging fire. While several men were plastering this wall with mud to make it air tight, a "terrific explosion" blew out the wall and buried the workers "beneath timbers, earth, and rock." Four men died at the scene while three others died within the next two weeks.[81] Of the four men who died immediately, James Shoemaker of California was interred at a small cemetery "behind old Aspen Station." His grave, being on Aspen Ridge, joined that of the "poor fellow" whose fresh burial site Captain Howard Stansbury discovered as he passed over the ridge in 1850.[82]

[75] Hardesty, "Construction of the Aspen, Wyoming, Tunnel," 185, 186; "Revision of Grades and Alignment," 547.

[76] Hardesty, "Construction of the Aspen, Wyoming, Tunnel," 186; *Wyoming Press*, August 10, 1901; "Revision of Grades and Alignment," 548-549.

[77] *Wyoming Press*, March 2, 1901.

[78] Hardesty, "Construction of the Aspen, Wyoming, Tunnel," 187; "Revision of Grades and Alignment," 549.

[79] *Casper Star-Tribune*, January 11, 1976.

[80] *Salt Lake Herald*, March 5, 1881, January 15, 1886; Clifford C. Stuart, Jr., "Killer Mine," *Frontier Times* 39 (Feb-Mar, 1966), 12; Philip A. Kalisch, "The Woebegone Miners of Wyoming," *Annals of Wyoming* 42 (October 1970), 238-239; Wyoming State Inspector of Coal Mines, *Annual Report: Inspector of Coal Mines, 1895*, prepared by David G. Thomas (year ending 30 September 1895).

[81] *Wyoming Press*, December 15, 29, 1900; Hardesty, "Construction of the Aspen, Wyoming, Tunnel," 187; "Revision of Grades and Alignment," 548.

[82] Martin, *Cemetery Records*, 286; Madsen, *Exploring the Great Salt Lake*, 615.

The tunnel's contractors took several precautions to prevent explosions within the working areas. From the very beginning of the project large exhaust fans, one located above each portal, powered by three "Ingersoll-Sergant piston inlet air compressors" at the Pioneer Hollow power plant drew out smoke and gas through ventilation pipes which extended to the terminus of the chamber at each end of the tunnel. As the contaminated air withdrew from the tunnel, pure air came in through the entrances to replace it, thus filling the entire chamber with fresh air. After the December 10 explosion, Kilpatrick Brothers & Collins added several other safety measures including a ban on smoking within the tunnel, daily safety inspections, and a requirement to use only safety lamps and electric lights throughout the workings. Despite these steps a second explosion occurred, this time in July 1901. Five workers received "more or less serious injury," but no one died from this accident.[83]

In addition to finding gas in the Spring Valley coal mine and Aspen Tunnel, workers struck significant amounts of oil in these projects. While the presence of oil at Spring Valley caused the mine's "haulage ways to heave," it created little more than a nuisance for the men working within Aspen Tunnel. When Kilpatrick's crews first found oil in July 1901, Evanston's *Wyoming Press* rejoiced that the discovery proved that the region was "thoroughly saturated with oil." Col. M.M. Ketchum, a petroleum explorer, claimed that the tunnel's oil dripped at a rate of 200 to 300 gallons a day until the construction workers sealed off the flow with and "elaborate concrete and timber dam."[84]

Besides the presence of explosive gas, the problem of rock pressure, and the difficulty of dealing with water in and around the tunnel, workers suffered injury and occasionally death from a variety of isolated construction accidents. In August 1900, a "caving in of ground" at the tunnel killed one man and seriously injured a second, while in April 1901, a "body of falling earth" injured two other workers. In September 1900, two drillers died and two helpers were hurt after their drill accidentally set off an unexploded charge of dynamite that another crew had failed to fire in a hole they had drilled earlier that day. On December 16, 1900, a "peculiar accident" took the life of a worker who was standing in an excavation pit when a dinkey engine overhead broke through a narrow gauge trestle and crushed the man "in a terrible manner."[85]

Records exist to document the additional death at Aspen Tunnel of an employee who died of a heart attack on his first day of work at the tunnel. A Work Progress Administration paper estimated that the total number of deaths during construction was actually higher than eleven men and claimed, "There were fifteen or twenty men killed during construction and some of their graves are still to be found at old Aspen."[86]

Surprisingly the one element that did not hinder Kilpatrick Brothers and Collins' work on the tunnel was the district's normally severe winter weather. Frank Leslie exclaimed in 1877 that Aspen Ridge was a "wild, windy region where winter storms rage," yet in late January 1900 an Evanston, Wyoming, newspaper reported that the project's contractors were "jubilant over the lovely weather" they were experiencing that first winter of construction. To guard against the possibility of harsh snow storms, the company had its crews line the hills surrounding the tunnel's approaches with row upon row of drift fences.[87]

Tunnel crews connected the east and west headings on September 8, 1901, nearly one year beyond the date that Union Pacific planners estimated the entire LeRoy-Bear River Cutoff project would be done. The large volume of water within the tunnel and shaft and the tremendous rock pressure were the main reasons for the excessive amount of time necessary to complete the program. By October 8, 1901, bench workers and track layers brought their work to an end, and the next day Horace G. Burt announced in Salt Lake City that the "last of the mammoth contract" was done. The *Salt Lake Daily Tribune* observed that "the steep grades and crooked line around by Hilliard, including the long snowsheds, are entirely done away with." Shortly before midnight, on October 15, 1901, "regular trains" began traveling through the tunnel, and on October 19, 1901, the *Wyoming Press* reported, "All passenger trains passed through the new Aspen Tunnel Tuesday night, requiring eleven minutes from portal to portal."[88]

[83] "Revision of Grades and Alignment," 548; Hardesty, "Construction of the Aspen, Wyoming, Tunnel," 187; *Wyoming Press*, July 20, 1901, August 10, 1901.

[84] *History of the Union Pacific Coal Mines*, 128; *Wyoming Press*, July 20, 1901; Department of the Interior, *Geography and Geology*, 148. K.C. Weedin, resident engineer for the Aspen Tunnel project, disputed Ketchum's claim in an interview with geologist, A.C. Veatch, in 1905. Ibid., 148.

[85] *Wyoming Press*, August 25, September 22, December 22, 1900; April 6, 1901.

[86] "The Aspen Tunnel," WPA #6 [Work Progress Administration collection, Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department; typewritten copy in files at Uinta County Library, Evanston, Wyoming], 2.

[87] Reinhardt, *Out West*, 83; *Wyoming Press*, January 20, 1900; "Revision of Grades and Alignment," 547.

[88] Hardesty, "Construction of the Aspen, Wyoming, Tunnel," 186, 188; "Roadbed Improvements," 143; *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, October 9,1901; *Wyoming Press*, October 19, 1901.

Completion and Aftermath

Completing Aspen Tunnel was a technological feat that took two years, resulted in the death of at least eleven workers from accidents directly related to the project's construction, and cost $12,000,000. Being the keystone to the entire LeRoy-Bear River Cutoff route, the tunnel eliminated 9.56 miles of track, shortening the line over Aspen Ridge from 31.17 miles to 21.61 miles. It also allowed the railroad to reduce its maximum grade from 68.6 feet per mile to 43.3 feet, and to reduce its curves in the region from five degrees to three degrees and six minutes. The new route totally eliminated the sharp Horseshoe Bend nine miles west of Piedmont.[89]

Piedmont had become an important community on the Union Pacific's original route over Aspen Ridge during the last three decades of the 19th century. At the peak of its existence Piedmont boasted a "fine artesian well," a three-story hotel, a school house, a post office, several "well built" log homes, a general store, the Union Pacific depot, and a rectangular "round house" to store and maintain the railroad's helper engines. In addition to serving the Union Pacific, Piedmont thrived on providing charcoal for Utah smelters and operated four large kilns to manufacture this charcoal.[90]

Rerouting the line from LeRoy to Bear River caused the railroad to bypass Piedmont and Hilliard, resulting in the demise of both towns. Reminiscent of Frank Leslie's description of Aspen Ridge's "shrieking, savage wind," author Cliff Stuart commented that by the late 1960s, Piedmont's only resident was "the biting Wyoming wind."[91]

Hilliard, on the decline since experiencing a slump in its lumber trade in the 1880s, also went out of business when the Union Pacific bypassed it in 1901. Once the community had been the colorful home to a smelter, approximately thirty charcoal kilns, and a thirty-mile-long logging flume out of the Uintas. In 1900, however, the town lost its railroad-depot status and soon after the completion of Aspen Tunnel, Hilliard became as deserted as its neighbor, the once-notorious Bear River City, and ultimately turned into a prime "cattle and sheep raising area."[92]

Historically the significance of Aspen Tunnel goes beyond the completion of a physical link between two segments of the LeRoy-Bear River Cutoff. In a broad sense the tunnel represents a continuation of the process of developing a network of immigration trails through the Rocky Mountain West. In "West from Fort Bridger," J. Roderic Korns captures the essence of this historic process by observing:

> Those who travel the West sometimes find its vast expanse of plain and mountain monotonous and depressing, but not those who are familiar with its trails. Hardly a square mile lacks its personal eloquence, or ghosts of the past to take on flesh and blood and walk beside us.[93]

The "eloquence" of Aspen Tunnel is that it magnified the efforts of sojourners such as Joseph Reddeford Walker who pioneered a path over Aspen Ridge in 1843 and the Mormon company which fashioned improvements to this path up Pioneer Hollow in 1847. All who experienced the trail over Quaking Asp Mountain contributed to the mechanics of creating a transportation route through the "desolate heart of Wyoming."

[89] Hardesty, "Construction of the Aspen, Wyoming, Tunnel," 187; Department of the Interior, *Guidebook*, 78.
[90] Carter, *Pioneer Heritage*, 181.
[91] Reinhardt, *Out West*, 85; Stuart, Jr., "Piedmont," 126.
[92] Hammond, *Utah Expedition*, 330; Lester, *Rags to Riches*, 9, 12, 22, 23.
[93] Korns, "West from Fort Bridger," 2.

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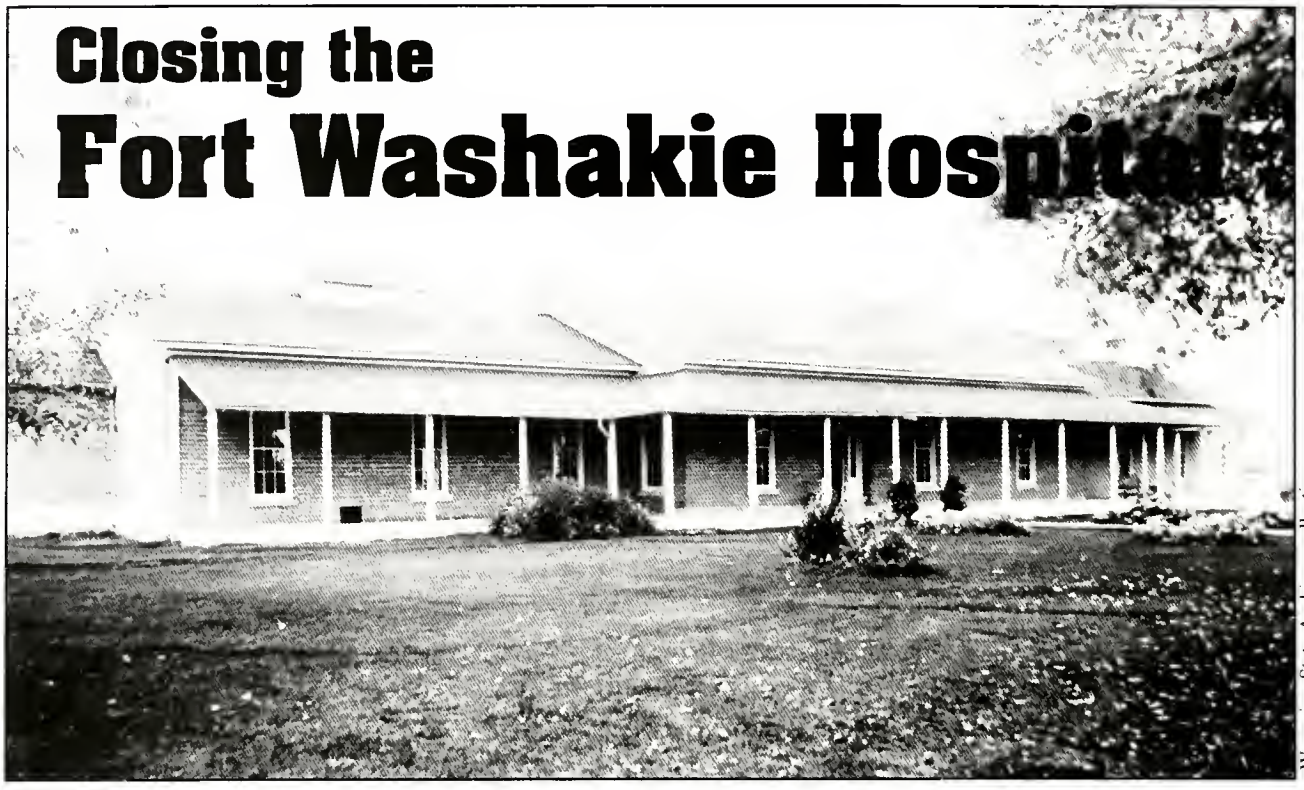
Closing the Fort Washakie Hospital



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A Case Study in Federal Termination Policy

By Mike Mackey

Federal government intentions during the first two decades of this century showed some genuine concern for Native Americans, even though the end results were often detrimental. By the late 1940s, the Hoover Task Force Commission, a Republican-controlled Congress and a group of assimilationists in the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), felt that federal Indian policy should take another direction. In the so-called Zimmerman Plan, experts recommended a policy of termination. This plan made suggestions for the quick assimilation of Indians into the mainstream (white) society.

On March 22, 1950, President Harry Truman appointed Dillon S. Myer to head the BIA. Myer, who previously headed the War Relocation Authority which oversaw the removal and relocation of Japanese and Japanese-Americans during World War II, wholeheartedly supported the new termination policy.[1] Myer stressed the need for Native Americans to "make fundamental improvements in three essential areas: health, education and the economy."[2]

Myer believed that Indians were "museum pieces" and that there was no place for them in the atomic age. Government-sponsored programs administered by the BIA would not allow for the liberation of Native Americans to enjoy the freedoms guaranteed them under the Constitution, in Myer's view. He said, "Indian schools, clinics, and hospitals for Native Americans stifled their development toward independence."[3]

Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Republican candidate for the presidency in 1952, agreed with Myer's philosophy, even though he eventually replaced Myer as head of the BIA. Eisenhower said that Native Americans should have the same opportunities for education, health care and economic development as other Americans.[4] Both men believed that closing federally funded schools and hospitals on reservations would enhance Indian "opportunities."

As the Eighty-third Congress convened, Indian termination was one of the main topics of discussion. Wyoming Representative William Henry Harrison introduced House Concurrent Resolution 108. The resolution, sponsored in the Senate by Sen. Henry Jackson

[1]Donald L. Fixico, *Termination and Relocation: Federal Indian Policy 1945-1960* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986), xiv, 62-63.
[2]Ibid., 67.
[3]Ibid., 72.
[4]Ibid., 69-73.

of Washington, called for congressional support for an Indian termination policy. While a small number of tribes were targeted for total termination (the elimination of tribal status and relations with the federal government), the BIA moved to close many schools and hospitals on reservations not targeted.

W. Wendell Palmer, Superintendent of the Wind River Reservation, asked Fremont County officials in early June 1953, if they would be willing to provide health care for Indian patients. He told them the BIA planned to close the reservation hospital at Fort Washakie.[5]

County authorities protested vigorously and informed Palmer that hospitals in Riverton and Lander were already "taxed to the limit." These officials also believed that the county's welfare roles were overloaded and that they could not carry indigent Indians, too. County authorities were not reassured by claims from Palmer that the BIA would reimburse the hospitals for any Indian "charity cases." The reservation superintendent said that the operating expenses of the hospital at Fort Washakie were running between $80,000 and $100,000 a year and that the 40-bed unit (actually 38 beds) was only treating an average of fourteen patients a day. (Official BIA reports later set the number at 10.3 patients).[6] In light of Congress' push for termination, the superintendent said he did not believe Congress would approve funds needed to keep the hospital open.

Even though Memorial Hospital in Riverton was just completing a renovation which expanded it from a fourteen to a twenty-five bed facility, county officials were not interested in having the hospital treat Indian patients.[7]

By July federal officials told Palmer that the hospital closing was inevitable. On July 15, Indian Health officials told Dr. W. M. Kearns, the physician at the Fort Washakie Hospital, he would be transferred to Phoenix, Arizona. In the view of the BIA, Indians able to pay for medical services should not have them provided at government expense. BIA officials believed that Shoshone and Arapahoe tribal members probably would receive better care at Bishop Randall Hospital in Lander and Memorial Hospital in Riverton, since it had been so difficult to maintain an adequate staff at Fort Washakie.[8]

The Fremont County commissioners and the county welfare board rejected Palmer's proposal that they care for indigent Indians when the reservation hospital closed. Commissioner Henry Lockard said that since the county had no records of the Indians' past history they would be unable to determine which people were welfare cases and which were not. The Indians were wards of the federal government, Lockard pointed out, so it should be the government's responsibility to provide them with medical care. The commissioners were not reassured by promises that the county welfare board would be reimbursed by the BIA for the cost of caring for those unable to pay their own way.

Doctors and hospital officials in Lander and Riverton also expressed concern over Palmer's proposal. They feared that the addition of Indian patients would increase the workload to a point where it would become unmanageable.

These people were not the only ones who objected to the closing of the reservation's medical facilities. At a gathering of representatives from twenty-one different tribes in Sheridan, Wyoming, Thomas Duran, a spokesman for the Shoshone and Arapahoe tribes, protested that the closure was not justified.[9]

Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs W. Burton Greenwood told U. S. Senator Lester Hunt of Wyoming that the Fort Washakie Hospital's closing was the result of a number of factors. He said that the average per capita family income of Indians on the reservation was $5,000 per year which enabled them to pay for their own health care. He also cited the better staffed and more adequate facilities in Lander and Riverton. During the transition period, Greenwood said, there would be a doctor, nurse, and clerk retained at Fort Washakie to work with patients.[10]

While Greenwood was assuring Senator Hunt of the necessity of closing the reservation hospital, Area Director Fickinger of the Billings, Montana, office was working out a final agreement for the medical care of Shoshone and Arapahoe tribal members in Lander and Riverton. Under the agreement, the Lander Medical Clinic and the Riverton-based Wind River Medical Group would care for indigent Indians and be reimbursed by the BIA. The transition team at Fort Washakie would screen indigent patients for referral to doctors in either Lander or Riverton. A committee was also established at the Wind River Agency to determine which Indians would be declared indigent and qualify for the BIA to pay their medical expenses. This predetermination of financial status was supplied to the Riverton and Lander clinics. It was necessary for tribal members to work through the doctors in these two medical groups

[5]*Riverton Ranger*, May 28, 1953; Fixico, *Termination and Relocation*, 93; *Riverton Ranger*, June 2, 1953.

[6]The BIA adjusted figures to indicate a need for carrying out the policies of the administration.

[7]*Riverton Ranger*, June 2, 4, 1953.

[8]Ibid., July 7, 1953.

[9]Ibid., July 9, 1953, July 23, 1953.

[10]Ibid., July 21, 1953.

because they would not be admitted to the Riverton or Lander hospitals without a doctor's referral.[11]

The end of July and early August 1953 was an important time for Shoshone and Arapahoe tribal members and for all Native Americans. In late July, the United States Senate confirmed the appointment of Glenn Emmons from New Mexico as the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Emmons would continue the termination policy. It would be his responsibility to close the Indian Day School at Fort Washakie.

On August 1, 1953, the Fort Washakie Hospital was officially closed. Also on that day Congress adopted House Resolution 108. Although it was not a law to be enforced, it approved the changes in federal Indian policy and called for a continuation of termination.[12]

In late November 1953, officials at Riverton's Memorial Hospital reported that the closing of the Fort Washakie Hospital had contributed to the patient load, but not significantly.[13] Despite the apparent success of the private sector in coping with the influx of Indians to their medical facilities, tribal members were not happy with the situation. In the spring of 1954, Shoshone and Arapahoe tribal councils sent petitions to Wyoming representatives in Washington, urging that the reservation's hopital be reopened.

Robert Harris, Chairman of the Shoshone and Arapahoe Joint Business Council, forwarded the joint tribal resolution to Senator Hunt. In it, the council complained that the hospital's closing nine months earlier had caused great hardship, suffering, and possible deaths among the Shoshone and Arapahoe. The resolution expressed hope that the hospital might be reopened under the direction of the United States Public Health Service. (House Resolution 303 was before Congress at that time, calling for transfer of Indian health services to Public Health). The tribal councils asked Hunt to intervene on their behalf as soon as possible because BIA officials at the agency were planning to transform the hospital building into their main administration office and sell off all of the medical equipment. Tribal leaders believed there had never been a fair evaluation of the need for a hospital on the reservation before it was closed. They felt they were fighting both Glenn Emmons, who wanted the hospital closed, and local BIA officials who were disposing of the medical facility as they saw fit.[14]

Senator Hunt contacted Glenn Emmons on May 7 on behalf of the Shoshone and Arapahoe tribes. Hunt told the commissioner that the reasons given for the closure were very misleading. The official citation of 10.3 patients per day over the twelve-month period prior to closing did not reflect the Indian's reluctance to use the facilities. Light use resulted from the unpopularity of the physician. Tribal members stayed away from the hospital except in emergencies. When the doctors were well-liked, the facility was used extensively, Hunt wrote. He urged Emmons to reconsider the closure.[15]

BIA chief Emmons told Hunt this was the first he had heard that the Indians did not like the physician at Fort Washakie. He told Hunt that he believed that by using the existing medical facilities in Lander and Riverton, the tribal members would be making a "direct step toward assimilation," and that it would help to make the Indians participate in the area's communities. Emmons told Hunt if H.R. 303 were passed, any decision to reopen the hospital would be made by the Public Health Service and not the BIA.[16]

Senator Hunt wrote Robert Harris and the Joint Tribal Council saying that Emmons was not going to reconsider the hospital closure. It might be in the tribes' best interest to wait on the outcome of H.R. 303, Hunt noted. If it passed, the BIA would turn control of Indian health over to the Public Health Service and, perhaps, that agency would reopen the hospital.[17]

On June 22, 1954, Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay announced that the BIA would study the health care situation on the Wind River Reservation within a few months. He added that this would be the case only if Indian health care was still a responsibility of the BIA at that time.[18]

The suicide of Senator Hunt on June 19, 1954, left a void in Wyoming politics. In the mad scramble for votes, candidates who sought to fill the Hunt vacancy used the Fort Washakie Hospital closure as a major campaign issue.

On June 21, Representative William Henry Harrison (a Republican candidate for the Senate nomination) informed the *Riverton Ranger* that the reconsideration of the Fort Washakie Hospital closure was due to his

[11]Ibid., July 23, 1953.

[12]Ibid., July 28, August 8, 1953; Fixico, *Termination and Relocation*, 97.

[13]*Riverton Ranger*, November 26, 1953.

[14]Robert Harris to Lester Hunt, April 22, 1954, Hunt papers, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.

[15]Lester Hunt to Glenn Emmons, May 7, 1954, Hunt papers. Fiscal Report ending June 30, 1954, Wind River Indian Reservation, Joseph C. O'Mahoney papers, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.

[16]Glenn Emmons to Hunt, June 1, 1954, Hunt papers.

[17]Hunt to Shoshone-Arapaho Joint Business Council, June 3, 1954, June 14, 1954, Hunt papers.

[18]Department of the Interior news release, June 22, 1954, O'Mahoney papers; *Riverton Ranger*, June 29, 1954.

efforts and those of Republican Senator Frank Barrett. According to Harrison, little was known about his efforts on behalf of the Wind River tribes because he liked to keep a low profile. Harrison said he concerned himself with serving all of the people of Wyoming and was not out to seek personal publicity. After Harrison won the Republican nomination, he attacked the Democratic nominee, former Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney, holding him personally responsible for the closure of the hospital. Harrison accused O'Mahoney and the Democrats of pushing for these measures in 1949 and the 1953 hospital closure was a direct result of those efforts. Harrison omitted mentioning that he had authored House Concurrent Resolution 108 which called for the termination of a list of specific tribes and reduction of services provided by the BIA to all other tribes.[19] Harrison lost his bid for the Senate seat to O'Mahoney by a close margin

On August 5, 1954, President Eisenhower signed H.R. 303. This became Public Law 568 and set up the transfer of responsibility for Indian health care from the BIA to the Public Health Service. The official transfer was set to take place on July 1, 1955. When contacted for comments on the transfer, BIA chief Emmons said that the Indians would benefit greatly from the change. He seemed oblivious to the fact that his statements concerning high infant mortality in many tribes, the short life span on reservations, and that medicine on reservations was generally fifty to seventy-five years behind that in the rest of the country, reflected directly on him and the BIA. It should be pointed out that three weeks earlier Emmons called for the improvement of sanitary conditions on all reservations.[20]

Sections one and two of Public Law 568 would play very important roles in attempts by the Shoshone-Arapahoe Joint Business Council to reopen the Fort Washakie Hospital. These sections stated that the secretary of Health, Education and Welfare presided over all Indian health care facilities and that he could decide which would remain open and which would close. More important, a provision stipulated that no Indian hospital could be closed prior to July 1, 1956, without approval of the governing body of the tribe. For this provision to be of assistance to the tribes of the Wind River Reservation, the hospital had to be open when the Public Health Service assumed responsibility for Indian health care.[21] This meant that efforts to reopen the Fort Washakie Hospital had to reach fruition before July 1, 1955, or the hospital would most likely be lost forever.

BIA Commissioner Emmons sent Dr. Frank French of the BIA's health services branch to the Wind River Reservation in mid-October to survey the situation. A determination on whether or not the hospital would be reopened could not be reached until the French report had been completed and the bureau had it analyzed.[22]

Senator-elect O'Mahoney was not satisfied with the snail's pace at which the BIA was moving. He believed that there was no reason it should have taken four months from the time Emmons was contacted by the Wyoming Congressional Delegation in June to send someone to Wind River to review the health care situation. To O'Mahoney, it was important to complete the survey and reopen the hospital before July 1, 1955, the Public Health Service take-over date. O'Mahoney placed some of the blame on Representative Harrison who knew the effects of H.R. 303 and as a member of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs allowed the bill to pass that committee without objection.[23]

One month later a Fort Washakie man died of pneumonia. Officials at Bishop Randall Hospital in Lander said that the young man did not seek medical care until it was too late. By the time the illness was discovered, treatment was ineffective.[24] Critics of the BIA plan asked if the individual would have sought out medical care sooner had the Fort Washakie Hospital remained open.

Another issue concerning Indian health care arose in January 1955. Dorothy Rahn of the Fremont County Public Health Nursing Service had conducted tuberculin tests on all children living on the Wind River Reservation. Of the 637 school-aged children, thirty-seven percent of the Indian children tested positive as did fourteen percent of the Caucasian children. The result was that 216 of those tested had to be given further tests. Twenty-four percent of all active tuberculosis cases in Wyoming were in Fremont County.[25] As of this date there was not much to indicate that Emmons' sanitary improvement project or the closure of the Fort Washakie Hospital was benefiting the reservation's residents.

[19]Ibid., June 24, October 12, October 26, 1954; Fixico, *Termination and Relocation*, 97.

[20]Confidential memorandum, August 19, 1954, O'Mahoney papers; *Riverton Ranger*, July 8, July 22, 1954; Fixico, *Termination and Relocation*, 107-109.

[21]*Public Law 568*, 83rd Congress, O'Mahoney papers.

[22]Emmons to O'Mahoney, October 22, 1954, O'Mahoney papers.

[23]O'Mahoney to Emmons, October 25, 1954, Indian Affairs news release, October 25, 1954, O'Mahoney papers.

[24]*Riverton Ranger*, November 25, 1954.

[25]Ibid., January 27, 1955.

Following his election victory in 1954, Senator O'Mahoney set out to reopen the Fort Washakie Hospital. The senator contacted several Riverton and Lander people. He asked for their assessment of the reservation hospital issue. O'Mahoney found it hard to understand why the BIA, which was supposed to give Indians a say in any decisions affecting them, closed the Fort Washakie Hospital without consulting the tribal councils. Even H.R. 303 gave tribes the right to veto a hospital closure. The senator opposed the arrangement by which doctors' services for the Shoshones and Arapahoes with the Lander Medical Clinic and the Wind River Medical Group were contracted separately from services provided by Memorial Hospital in Riverton and Bishop Randall Hospital in Lander. In his view, the arrangement was more for the benefit of the doctors and hospitals than the welfare of tribal members seeking medical assistance. In addition, the senator questioned the BIA estimate that the average income of Indian families on the reservation was $5,000 a year.

O'Mahoney depended on individuals in the Riverton and Lander area to find out what they could concerning average annual income and the patterns of hospital usage among the Wind River Indians.[26] In March, Ursel Wombolt, a business owner in Lander, wrote him that since the Arapahoes and Shoshones received their per capita payments at the beginning of the month and a great number had been in her store, she was able to ask them a number of questions. When asked if they were consulted by the BIA or anyone else prior to the closing of the hospital, all replied, "No." The tribal members felt they were not welcome at the local hospitals in Lander and Riverton and told Wombolt that the old people refused to go to them. Of all the families who spoke with Wombolt, only about ten said they had an annual income that came anywhere close to $5,000. She added that while the hospitals appeared satisfied with their contracts, it was her belief that neither Caucasians or Indians liked the existing set-up.[27]

Donald Spiker, a Riverton attorney, also spoke with a number of tribal members. These Indians stated unanimously that they wanted the reservation hospital reopened. Spiker, too, found it "hard to believe the income figure of $5,000." With the limited hospital facilities in Riverton and Lander, Spiker said, the residents of these communities believed it would be in everyone's best interest if the Fort Washakie Hospital were reopened. Mayor E. H. Steffy of Riverton said Memorial Hospital was often full even without taking the Wind River residents who would rather have their own hospital. He asked the senator to do everything in his power to get the reservation hospital reopened.[28]

After completing his survey, L. A. Millard of Riverton concluded that the Indians had been "taken for a ride." If the BIA believed it could assimilate Indians by denying them medical services, it was mistaken, Millard said. The Fort Washakie Hospital had been left vacant and unattended for more than a year and a half. Millard pointed out that even if the existing hospital facilities in Riverton and Lander were adequate at the time, they would not be for long. The influx of oil field workers and uranium prospectors was adding to the problem of adequate health care for everyone in Fremont County.[29] The population would not peak for another three years and then the Indians, not the oil field and uranium workers, would be blamed for the inadequate facilities.

The Riverton Chamber of Commerce, Dr. J. F. Replogle and Robert Harris of the Shoshone-Arapahoe Joint Business Council, all wrote to O'Mahoney. The chamber sent a resolution calling for the reopening of the hospital.[30] Replogle claimed the BIA was wrong to assume it could not maintain a minimal medical staff at Fort Washakie.[31] Tribal leader Harris wrote O'Mahoney that the BIA had surveyed twenty-seven families, all of whom received more than fifty-one percent of their income from sources other than per capita payments. The result was the deceptively high $5,000 figure for family incomes. The vast majority, according to Harris, earned nowhere near this figure. When Harris had asked to see hospital records in order to confirm the admission statistics, BIA officials turned down the request. Harris dismissed the BIA's claim that tribal officials had been "consulted." Area Director Fickinger attended a tribal council meeting and told the council that changes would be made in the health care system and only three options were possible: contracting for services through the county commission, direct contract with a local medical group, or tribal maintenance and operation of the facility. Keeping the facility open was not one of Fickinger's options, Harris reported. The decisions were made strictly by the BIA. Tribal leaders did not believe the BIA had the welfare of the Shoshone and Arapahoe people at heart when they compiled the figures used as evidence and closed the hospital without consultation.[32]

[26]O'Mahoney to Ursel Wombolt, February 25, 1955, O'Mahoney papers.
[27]Wombolt to O'Mahoney, March 1955, O'Mahoney papers.
[28]Donald Spiker to O'Mahoney, March 3, 1955; E. H. Stuffy to O'Mahoney, March 7, 1955, O'Mahoney papers.
[29]L. A. Millard to O'Mahoney, March 7, 1955, O'Mahoney papers.
[30]Riverton Chamber of Commerce to O'Mahoney, March 9, 1955, O'Mahoney papers.
[31]J. F. Replogle to O'Mahoney, March 8, 1955, O'Mahoney papers.
[32]R. Harris to O'Mahoney, March 18, 1955, O'Mahoney papers.

In early April, Senator O'Mahoney met with Assistant BIA Commissioner Lee, Dr. James Shaw of the Public Health Service, and Dr. Frank French the Area Health Officer from the Billings BIA office. The senator showed them a memorandum detailing the information he had received from area residents and tribal officials. The two men agreed to look into the situation immediately.[33]

By the end of April, John Cooper, Director of the BIA office in Billings, met with Wind River Reservation Superintendent Arthur Arntson and the Shoshone-Arapaho Joint Business Council. Cooper told those in attendance that the BIA, working in cooperation with the Public Health Service, had decided not to reopen the Fort Washakie Hospital with a resident physician. However, BIA chief Emmons had developed a four-point program which he believed would improve the health care situation on the reservation. First, there was to be an increase in clinical services. Second, the bureau would be more liberal in the standards of eligibility that determined which Indians could receive care at BIA expense. Third, one public health nurse would be added to the staff at the reservation to help with preventive medicine. Last, as of July 1, 1955, a dentist and dental assistant were to be stationed on the reservation.[34]

Commissioner Emmons' four-point program resulted in pressure being applied to the BIA by area residents, the Wyoming congressional delegation, and Shoshone and Arapahoe tribal members. In spite of this pressure, however, the director said, "After full consideration the Indian Bureau has determined that reopening of the hospital is not advisable."[35] Emmons believed that hospitals in Riverton and Lander had a far wider range of medical specialties. These would be more beneficial to the Indians than the services of one doctor at the Fort Washakie Hospital. Following the meeting at which these positions were presented, the Shoshone-Arapahoe Joint Business Council went on record saying that the reopening of the hospital was preferable to Emmons' four-point plan.[36]

On July 1, 1955, the Public Health Service took over responsibility for Indian health care. This agency's assumption of health care responsibilities was to aid in carrying out the termination policy. The Public Health Service was already in the health care business, and the administration's goal to dissolve the BIA could be accomplished more rapidly with a redistribution of its responsibilities. The reservation hospital had not been reopened after a two-year battle with the BIA. It appeared that the Public Health Service had no intention of reopening the facility. By the end of July, the Public Health Service had initiated programs in an effort to improve health care on the Wind River Reservation.

The service would open a clinic at Fort Washakie for three hours a day, four or five days a week. Also, a Riverton medical group would open a clinic at Arapahoe. Further, the Riverton and Lander medical groups agreed to accept "emergency cases" without the prior certification that had been required in the past. (Previously, indigent Indians had to present a certificate which stated that the BIA would pay for their medical treatment before they received any attention). Under a new contract, the hospitals in Riverton and Lander were to be reimbursed directly for any Indians they treated. Under the previous contract, Indians were admitted to the hospital only after a referral from the Lander Medical Clinic or the Wind River Medical Group in Riverton. In an effort to address the problem of future overcrowding, the directors of the Lander hospital explored ways that they could reopen the Fort Washakie Hospital as a private concern. Such a move was an alternative to adding a new addition to Bishop Randall Hospital in Lander.[37]

In spite of the program proposed by the Public Health Service, tribal members and non-Indian residents in Lander and Riverton continued to press for the reopening of the Fort Washakie Hospital. Senator O'Mahoney continued to work on behalf of both his non-Indian and Indian constituents. When it became clear that the Public Health Service had no intention of reopening the hospital, O'Mahoney suggested to Paul Hines, Robert Harris, Nellie Scott, and other tribal leaders that the Shoshone-Arapahoe Joint Business Council approach the directors of Bishop Randall Hospital about working out a contract through which the Fort Washakie Hospital could be leased to Bishop Randall and operated by them.[38]

The senator's suggestions were well received and attempts were made to follow through on them, but the efforts never bore fruit. By November the Shoshone and Arapahoe councils had approached the Public Health Service and the BIA in an effort to get them to address the problem of hospital overcrowding in Riverton and Lander which was adversely affecting tribal members

[33]Memorandum from Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, April 11, 1955, O'Mahoney to Wombolt, April 13, 1955, O'Mahoney papers.

[34]*Riverton Ranger*, May 3, 1955.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Ibid.

[37] Memorandum: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, July 29, 1955, O'Mahoney papers.

[38] J. A. Morrow to O'Mahoney, August 16, 1955, James H. Gamble to O'Mahoney, October 6, 1955, O'Mahoney papers.

(the influx of oil workers and uranium prospectors was beginning to present problems). The Public Health Service refused to reopen the Fort Washakie Hospital. Instead they approached hospital officials in Thermopolis, Wyoming, to see if they might be interested in working out a contract at their Memorial Hospital similar to those with the hospitals in Riverton and Lander. Public Health and BIA officials believed that by making available the additional bed space in the Thermopolis hospital to Wind River Indians, their problems would be solved.[39]

Hospital overcrowding was a problem that continued to grow. To help address this situation the 85th Congress, in 1957, passed Public Law 151. This law, signed by President Eisenhower, authorized the Public Health Service to help fund hospital projects in areas where some of the patient load at a hospital was made up of Native Americans. While the law had been passed, no funds would be available until the following year. At that time both Riverton Memorial Hospital and Bishop Randall in Lander were contemplating additions to their existing facilities.[40]

Senator Frank Barrett began working on the appropriation of funds for the two hospitals. Since the closing of the Fort Washakie Hospital, Bishop Randall in Lander had absorbed the largest share of Indian patients. As of January, 1958, occupancy at that hospital was thirty-eight percent Indian. A bill before Congress, H.R. 11645, was passed and signed into law in 1958. This piece of legislation allocated funds to the Department of Public Health for a number of hospital projects where Indians were among the patients being treated. Riverton's share of the funds was $17,276.81 while the share for Lander, where most of the Shoshones and Arapahoes sought treatment, was $221,943. These funds and the new additions to hospitals in Riverton and Lander were a great help to the problem of Indian health care in the Wind River area but tribal members still wanted their own hospital to be reopened.[41]

The issue of the Fort Washakie Hospital was only one problem which the Shoshone and Arapahoe tribal members faced under the Indian termination policy. The BIA attempted to close a school on the Wind River Reservation and it developed into a long and fierce battle between the tribes and the agency. The Shoshones and Arapahoes were not directed targeted for termination as were tribes like the Klamaths and Menominees, but termination policy adversely affected them and most other tribes throughout the country.

[39]*Riverton Ranger*, November 22, 1955.
[40]Frank Barrett to Curt Kaiser, August 20, 1957, Frank Barrett papers, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.
[41]Franklin Yoder to Wyoming Congressional Delegation, January 8, 1958, H.R. 11645, March 31, 1958; Barrett to Lew Bates, September 8, 1958, Surgeon General to Barrett, December 1, 1958, Barrett papers.

Mike Mackey is an independent historian who lives and works in Powell. A native of Powell, he was an organizer of a very successful symposium on the Heart Mountain "Relocation Center" held in Powell last May.

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Book Reviews

--Some Significant Recent Books in Western and Wyoming History

Senator Alan Bible and the Politics of the New West. By Gary E.Elliott. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1994. xx and 275 pages. Illustrations, tables, maps, notes, bibliography, and index. Cloth, $34.95.

In recent years, historians have developed a substantial literature on the transformation of the postwar U.S. West. In this revision of his 1990 doctoral dissertation at Northern Arizona University, Gary Elliott attempts to show how Alan Bible, a relatively obscure Nevada Senator, used the cloakroom and his position on the Appropriations Committee to attract federal monies for western development.

Born in 1909, the son of a miner-turned-small grocery entrepreneur, Bible was bookish, stuffy, indecisive, but also shrewd and hard-working. As a young man, he fell under the influence of Nevada's powerful and vindictive Senator Pat McCarran, who organized the Western Conference of Senators in 1947. After a stint as state attorney general, during which he developed considerable expertise in water law, Bible was elected in 1954 to fill out McCarran's unexpired term. The new senator came under the influence of Lyndon Johnson, who shepherded his career and benefited from Bible's support both as Majority Leader and as President.

Bible's consuming passion was state and regional economic development. In his youth, he had absorbed a vague progressive era mentality that held that government should be a positive force for economic growth and betterment. During the New Deal and World War II years, he had witnessed the wondrous power of federal monies pouring into Nevada. In the Senate, he concentrated on committee work, developing expertise and credibility over a relatively narrow range of issues of particular importance to his state. That expertise, plus his accommodating personality and party loyalty, would ultimately make Bible one of the most influential figures on Capitol Hill.

Water development proved the key to Bible's efforts. Working in concert with other western legislators, he brought a host of federally financed water projects to the region. Probably the most important for his own state was the Southern Nevada Water Project, begun in 1968, which proved to be the key to the phenomenal expansion of gambling and tourism in Las Vegas. As chairman of the Parks and Recreations Subcommittee after 1965, however, Bible began to confront growing environmental considerations that muted his earlier enthusiasm for pure economic development. While certainly "no John Muir" (p. 189), Bible did come to appreciate the limits of economic development that the environment could sustain. Ultimately he would play a moderating role in disputes over a number of hotly contested land use questions, most notably in the Indiana Dunes Lakeshore Act and the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act.

Elliott argues that Bible was far less effective on issues where western legislators were not necessarily in agreement. He lobbied with minimal success for federal aid to the Nevada mining industry. He forcefully opposed free trade and even broke with Lyndon Johnson over policies that allowed foreign imports to endanger Nevada's livestock and mining interests. And while Bible opposed federal intrusions and rule making, he believed Washington could act as an effective barrier to greedy local interests. Thus, he opposed the Barrett-D'Ewart bills of the1950s (co-sponsored by Wyoming Senator Frank Barrett) to transfer title of large portions of federally-owned land to the states. Certainly, Elliott insists that Alan Bible was no early day "Sagebrush Rebel."

Elliott, a professor of history at Community College of Southern Nevada, has offered us a good, workman-like study. Generally defensive, Elliott properly chastises Bible for some of the uncontrolled growth that now pollutes the Las Vegas Valley. One might have liked to have seen a fuller exploration of Bible's actions on such issues as civil rights and anti-poverty programs. Just how did the politics of the New West intersect with other controversial aspects of the Great Society? On balance, however,this volume enriches our understanding of regional and national developments since World War II.

William Howard Moore
University of Wyoming, Laramie

The Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation, 1877-1900. By Orlan J. Svingen. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 1993. 197 pages, maps, preface, appendices, bibliography, index.

This outstanding book explores the fifteen-year period after the northern Cheyenne tribe, in a complex series of surrenders by various component groups, gave up its resistence to the forces of mainstream U. S. society. The most famous Northern Cheyenne surrender story, (dramatized as historical fiction by Mari Sandoz in *Cheyenne Autumn*), involved the escape from Oklahoma imprisonment in autumn 1877 by the people of Dull Knife and Little Wolf. It is one of the great stories of American history. Svingen has now given us its sequel, detailing in ten clearly written chapters the beginning of the tribe's first reservation century.

It is tempting to believe that after their heroic 1877 flight to the North country and the Fort Robinson outbreak in

January 1878, the Cheyennes were home free. In 1884, thanks to the influence of such enemies-turned-friends as General Nelson A. Miles, they were given their heart's desire--a reservation in the beautiful pine hills south of the Yellowstone River. They were home at last, on what is today the Tongue River Reservation in Montana, just north of the Wyoming line. But "home free" they were most certainly not.

Svingen served as a reservation teacher at St. Labre's Mission at Ashland, Montana, in 1969, and is now associate professor of history at Washington State University. He documents almost every paragraph with references to exhaustive research in the National Archives and many other national and local libraries.

Svingen's preface identifies the two factors precipitating conflict about the validity of Cheyenne claims to the Tongue River country. First was the powerful opposition of White stockmen who arrived at the same time the Cheyennes returned, and who saw instantly the desirability of Cheyenne grass. These kept up a steady campaign of assaults against "wild Indians" who butchered cattle (true), and threatened the development of commercial ranching (false). Second, normal political changes in the United States government (different presidents making different changes in policy) kept everyone in a state of acute confusion. "Each new Interior Secretary and Indian Commissioner reviewed the complicated history of the Indians anew, and in two instances they considered returning the Tongue River Reservation to the public domain." But two other institutions "seldom portrayed as helpful to Native Americans" also came to the rescue. "The army, impressed with their loyalty and bravery as scouts, supported the Cheyennes' attempt to remain in Montana. In particular, Gen. Miles recalled how helpful the Cheyennes had been in the spring of 1877 in precipitating a general surrender of other Plains Indians. Other military men also spoke of the Cheyennes as dependable, peace-loving people, in marked contrasts to accounts from area stockmen." The other helpful forcewere government personnel from the Indian Department and Indian Office who intervened on the Cheyennes' behalf: Hiram Price, Thomas J. Morgan, Cornelius Bliss and James McLaughlin and others.

Chapter 8, "An American Indian Dreyfus Affair," first published in *Western Historical Quarterly*, is praiseworthy. It is a dramatic story. Of a group of Cheyennes involved in the killing of a white man in 1897, one--David Stanley--was clearly guilty. The others, Little Whirlwind and Spotted Hawk, were proven not guilty, but sentenced to death with Stanley in Miles City, Montana, by a jury of local citizens. Stanley died in prison. The others were saved through the persistent efforts of Indian Agent George Stouch, surely one of the unsung heroes of the early frontier. Stouch was assisted in the long struggle by George Bird Grinnell, the anthropologist who recorded Cheyenne tradition for nearly a half century. It is a fine example of "U.S. Indian agent as good guy," allied with army personnel as was often the case. Stouch was assisted also by a kind of bone deep legal wisdom possessed by the Cheyennes from an early time.

Svingen expresses thanks to an eight-year-old boy attending school at St. Labre's Mission, Iron John Blackwolf, who taught him "that adversity and happiness can proceed hand in hand." (p. xii). It is a lesson yet unlearned by many writers of Indian history who describe the fate that befell the tribes of the plains. Human life is never lived in heaven, despite the notion of Charlie Russell and others, "They've lived in heaven for a thousand years, and we took it for forty dollars a month." Constant intertribal and anti-white warfare was brutally hard on women and children, old people, and even men of fighting age. Thirty years' warfare with whites left most groups so destitute that surrender with its regular supply of food and clothing came as relief, as well as sorrow.

The Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation, 1877-1900, is a wonderful example of the kind of work which needs to be done on the reservation periods of many Plains tribes. It is to be hoped that Professor Svingen will carry the Cheyenne story forward into the twentieth century. With this work as background, no one could do it better.

Margot Liberty
Sheridan, Wyoming

Jewel of the Desert: Japanese American Internment at Topaz. By Sandra C. Taylor. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

With the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the sudden entrance into World War II, a hysterical nation supported the removal of more than 110,000 people of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast to isolated areas in the country's interior. The rationale for forcibly moving the Japanese Americans was never grounded in real threats but in perceived fears that they might assist the Japanese in waging war against the United States.

One of the ten concentration camps for the Japanese Americans was located in Utah, fifteen miles from Delta, in Millard County. The Central Utah Relocation Center was commonly called Topaz, after Topaz Mountain, a local landmark where the semiprecious gemstone can be found. "From the name 'Topaz' it was an easy step to the sarcastic label 'the jewel of the desert,' a slogan proudly printed at the top of the camp newspaper." (p.90)

"The Jewel of the Desert" is the serious title chosen by author Sandra C. Taylor for her history of the Utah Japanese American camp. In theauthor's words, "This book analyzes the Japanese American experience through the framework of community, the network of associations and institutions that held together a group of people who were set apart from the majority by their ethnicity" (p. xii).

Dr. Taylor, a Professor of History at the University of Utah, is a Caucasian. She admits her bias as being an outsider to the community for which she is writing. She also takes the viewpoint that the Japanese American internment by the United States during World War II was wrong.

Efforts to redress this wrong have been attempted since 1948, but the final Congressional apology did not come until 1988 and compensation began in 1990. This came after years of work by many dedicated individuals mostly within the Japanese American community. The redress movement perhaps saved the relocation history, for little interest was given to this topic prior to the 1980s. Dr. Taylor's well researched book comes with the increased interest in the subject during our fiftieth commemoration of World War II. Her handling of the subject, though, is unique. Most studies of the camps have looked mostly at the life within the barbed wire. Dr. Taylor begins her book with an examination of the Japanese American community in San Francisco prior to the war. This was the community, due to the random relocation plan, that eventually spent the war in Utah. While the Topaz camp was being constructed the evacuees were put behind barbed wire at Tanforan, in California, where they lived in horse stalls.

Dr. Taylor's vivid accounts of the internees' lives in California before the war, in Tanforan, and in Topaz are so real the reader can not help but feel for those people. Her descriptions are vivid because they came from first person accounts. Dr. Taylor interviewed nearly fifty Issei and Nisei (first and second generation) Japanese Americans for this book. This is no small feat. Culturally, the Japanese Americans are not encouraged to discuss this darker side of their history, and the fact that Dr. Taylor was able to collect this many first person accounts is a credit to her and her research.

The many personal stories add the important interpretation to Dr. Taylor's book. Too many times, the response to the internment of Japanese Americans has been simplified. Dr. Taylor, through her many examples, shows that the responses have been as varied as the people interned.

Dr. Taylor's book also looks at the interned community after the war and, years later, their response to Redress. Again, this is not common in other books on the Japanese American internment. It's this follow-up work that makes this study particularly interesting. Her findings were, again, as varied as the internees. Depending on age, sex, and unique experience, every internee was impacted differently.

This book is a valuable history for Utah, the West, and the United States. Though it looks specifically at one camp, it is a case study for the larger Japanese American internment experience. Dr. Taylor's unique approach of analyzing the experience through community, using many individual accounts, weaves a valuable history with an important message: May we not forget.

Antonette Chambers Noble
Cora, Wyoming

Sinners and Saints: Tales of Old Laramie City. By Gladys Beery. Glendo: High Plains Press, 1994. xiii & 279 pp. illus., index. Cloth, $21.95; paper, $12.95.

Sinners and Saints is an entertaining collection of different anecdotal vignettes dedicated to the "little people" who spent time in Laramie and to the legacy they have left to their inheritors. It is a compilation of thirty-three short stories that recount the trials and tribulations, the good and the bad, the uplifting and the tragedies of men and women who found themselves in Laramie, especially during its early years. While there is no straight line historic connection that ties one tale to the next, one common theme that emerges among the multi-ethnic personalities described in the sketches is that what counted was not their age but the quality of their character and what they could do. Many of the vignettes reflect the strong individualism and resourcefulness of the women who came to live in Laramie in what was less than ideal living conditions. Divorces were not uncommon as frontier women found themselves having to survive on their own in this rough-and-tumble community.

Beery's first tales reflect on the boisterous beginnings of Laramie in 1868 as an "end-of-the-tracks town" as vigilantes established law and order, Indian presence was expunged, murders occurred in barroom brawls, and houses of easy virtue catered to their male clientele especially from Fort Sanders, with *Laramie Sentinel* editor J. H. Hayford moralizing on what he saw. As Laramie's society became more stabilized, the sketches recount the experiences of several remarkable women, including "Milkman Mary" who survived by selling milk from her ranch, cleaning houses and midwifery, the empaneling of the world's first jury to seat women, the appointment of the world's first lady court bailiff, and Aunt Fronie whose equestrian skills were legendary.

The choice of tales in the latter part of the book is more eclectic. Some focus on the tregedies of life such as Peter Holt who lost his bride, all his businesses, and his fine gingerbread house as he sought to satisfy his creditors, or Bronco Sam murdering his beautiful Indian wife in a fit of jealousy upon hearing gossip that she was unfaithful which proved to be untrue. Others relate the stories of several madams whose operations of business were allowed as long as they were leased and not owned. Still others are tales of redemption such as the conversion of the Lone Bandit, Bill Carlisle, and his eventual full pardon by the governor. Beery's tales also include several legends. One short story effectively debunks the legend that Jesse and Frank James held up the Deadwood Stage in 1878 or that they had a ranch along Little Goose Creek. Another does the same in undermining the story that the Dalton gang owned property in Laramie.

At times, the tales can be hard to follow because names are mentioned without an initial introduction so the reader is perplexed how they fit into the story. Fortunately, there is a good index. Also, at the beginning of each tale, Beery has included either contemporary photos or an item relevant to the story. She ends each tale with a helpful biographical essay which describes and editorializes on the sources she has consulted. Sinners and Saints is a welcome addition to the colorful history of the West and which residents, especially of Albany County, will enjoy.

Francois M. Dickman
University of Wyoming, Laramie

Wyoming People in History

Lillian Heath Nelson, Pioneer Woman Doctor

By Larry Brown

The despondent sheep herder pressed the cold steel muzzle of his shotgun to the point of his chin. The blast of buckshot that followed a split second later tore away not only all jaw flesh and bone within its path, but the upper lip, tip of his tongue, and end of his nose. Fortuitously, the burning gun powder instantly cauterized the wound, thus preventing any major loss of blood. Deadly shock, too, was averted thanks in part to the bitter cold.[1]

History does not record who found the fifty-three year-old Englishman or how he came that November night in 1886 to Dr. Thomas G. Maghee in nearby Rawlins, Wyoming. After learning of the attempted suicide, the physician immediately called for Lillian Heath, his 21-year-old nurse. As was their custom, she preceded the doctor to his office in the old stone building on the north side of Cedar Street where she prepared disinfectant and medical instruments. Having everything in order, she went to the drug store across the street. In the meantime, Doctor Maghee arrived with his patient. Once the man was undressed and prepared for surgery, the doctor signalled with an oil lamp from the large, front window of his office for the nurse to return. Together, they saved the patient, later rebuilding his face so that he lived into the next century.[2]

Lillian Heath Nelson
Photograph courtesy of the Wyoming State Archives, Wyoming Dept. of Commerce

It was his protege's aptitude, intelligence, and skilled help during that experience, and many others like it, that impelled Doctor Maghee to recommend her for formal medical training. Thanks to her mentor's confidence and initiative, Lillian Evelyn Heath subsequently became Wyoming's first woman physician and surgeon.[3]

Heath, born December 29, 1865, at her maternal Grandfather Hunter's farm near Burnett Junction, Wisconsin, was one of two children born to William A. and Calista Heath. Three years after her birth, the family moved to Aplington, Iowa, where they remained until September 1873 when they continued by train to Wyoming Territory. Following brief stays at Cheyenne and Laramie, they moved on to Rawlins where, in October 1877, they made their home at the Larry Hayes Union Pacific Hotel on the northwest corner of Fifth and Front streets. It was two years later before Lillian's father, who earned his keep by artistically painting Union Pacific's ornate locomotives and rolling stock, built his family a log cabin of salvaged telegraph poles in town. Finally, in 1881, Lillian's father constructed a permanent, two-story home for his family at 111 West Cedar Street.[4]

It was while she and her sister, Sylvia May ("Tib") spent their childhood in that modest, but comfortable abode that the girls attended the local schools. She did so well academically that at age sixteen she was permitted to teach children at School No. 5 near New Carbon and later in a classroom at the Pass Creek. It was five more years until she completed academic study at Rawlins High School. Upon receiving her diploma, she worked as a substitute teacher at the old Central School in Rawlins before

[1] David Crosson, "Plastic Surgery on the Wyoming Frontier," *Rocky Mountain Medical Journal* (Boulder, Colorado: Colorado Medical Society), 73 (July-August 1976), 194-198; Dr. Courtney A. Brown-Waltrip, telephone interview with author, Columbia Presbyterian Hospital, New York, March 20, 1995.

[2] Crosson, "Plastic Surgery on the Wyoming Frontier"; also "Death Claims Dr. Lillian (Evelyn) Heath at Memorial Hospital Sunday," *Rawlins Daily Times*, August 7, 1962, pp. 1, 9; Neal Miller, "Lillian Heath, M.D.," (unpublished manuscript), n.d., 46 on microfilm (H-S, MA#1493-Miscellaneous Materials and Biographical Sketch of Dr. Heath [Mrs. Lillian Nelson]), Wyoming State Archives, Wyoming Department of Commerce.

[3] "Death Claims Dr. Lillian (Evelyn) Heath at Memorial Hospital Sunday"; Lael Miller, "For Night Calls—A .32 Revolver: Mrs. Lou Nelson, Resident 77 Years, was Early-day Physician in Rawlins," *Rawlins Daily Times*, August 16, 1955, pp. C-5, C-7, C-10

continuing her education at the University of Colorado in 1890. The following year, with Dr. Maghee's endorsement, she transferred to Keokuk, Iowa, where she entered the College of Physicians and Surgeons. After graduating in March, 1893, she specialized in obstetrics for three months at the college's Mercy Hospital, before going back to Rawlins which had grown to a population of about 1,500.[5]

Shortly after her return to her hometown, she opened a small medical office in the living room of her parents' home. One night, she was called out of a masquerade ball to deliver a baby. The woman, she said, was a "great, big, healthy girl and this was her first baby,... [but] wouldn't work on the delivery—just laid there hour after hour. Finally, I rolled her over and swatted her backside good three or four times. The delivery started soon after and she gave normal birth to a big, healthy boy without any trouble."[6]

Respectable women of that time usually did not go out after dark without an escort, so to avoid gossip and potential trouble from drifters and drunks, Doctor Heath had a dress especially tailored to help disguise her figure. She also concealed a brace of revolvers in two deep, inner pockets although she never had to fire them in anger.[7]

To help maintain her medical skills, she regularly attended summer medical clinics in Denver, but during her free hours there she also modeled fashions at the Daniels and Fisher French Room. Store personnel, in fact, wanted her to be a full-time mannequin.[8]

At home in Rawlins, she also enjoyed biking and was the only woman member of the local bicycle club. Her other interests included service to the St. Thomas Episcopal Church. She also was secretary to the Knights of Labor, a labor organization of the late 1880s, and maintained active membership in the local Rebekahs' lodge and the Colorado Medical Society.[9]

In Colorado, she met handsome, mustachioed Louis J. Nelson, a young Norwegian painter and decorator. During their courtship, the Spanish-American War broke out and Lou was called to service. The marriage had to be delayed. It was not until he was discharged from his unit at Ft. Ord in Nebraska and made a member of the honor guard for President William McKinley, who was attending the Trans-Mississippi Exposition in Omaha, that Lillian was able to rejoin her fiance.

They married on October 24, 1898, at a friend's home. Following the simple ceremony, they returned to Rawlins where they lived for all but the three years [1909-1911] they owned and managed the Ben-Mar Hotel in Lamar, Colorado.[10]

During her later years, she and her husband became active in the U.S. War Veterans organization as well as the Wyoming State Historical Society and its the Carbon County chapter. And when Lou joined the B.P.O.E.[Benevolent Protective Order of Elks], Lillian became a Doe in the fraternal order's auxiliary.[11]

Although she did not aggressively practice her profession after 1909, the entry to her office remained open to all who needed her healing hands thanks in part to "Big Nose George" Parrott's skull that she used as a doorstop and flower pot. The outlaw's brain bowl had been given to her by fellow physician, Dr. John E. Osborne, who later became governor of Wyoming. She also continued her medical studies and maintained her accreditation and license as a doctor until her death in the early morning hours of Sunday, August 5,1962, at Rawlins Memorial Hospital. She had been hospitalized there since the previous February when she broke her hip for the second time.[12]

And so it was, at nearly ninety-seven years of age, she joined her kin in their family cemetery plot to the sweet strains of her favorite musicians: canaries and coyotes.[13]

[4]Neal Miller, "Lillian Heath, M.D.," 3, 6-7, 10. The Heath's first log cabin, behind the old Lambertsen Texaco Station, is believed to be the oldest original residence in Rawlins.

[5] "Annual Announcement of the Fifty-Second Session of the College of Physicians and Surgeons," Keokuk (Iowa) *Press of the Constitution-Democrat*, n.d.; also Lael Miller, "For Night Calls..."

[6]Miller, "Lillian Heath, M.D.," 40

[7]Ibid., 41

[8] Lael Miller, "For Night Calls..."

[9]Ibid. She did not join the Wyoming State Medical Society during its early years, she said, because she would have been the only woman member, "a fact which would have made both the male members and herself uncomfortable at meetings."

[10] "Death Claims Dr. Lillian (Evelyn) Heath at Memorial Hospital Sunday." The Nelson's lost their total investment when the hotel failed financially.

[11] Lael Miller, "For Night Calls..."

[12] Phil Roberts, "Prominent Physicians in Wyoming History," *Buffalo Bones: Stories from Wyoming's Past*, AMH Department, December, 1979; "Wyoming Pioneer Woman Doctor Visits Hospitals Here After 36-Year Retirement," *Denver Post*, August 30, 1955.

[13] Ibid.; "Me...Your Favorite," list on microfilm H-S, MA#1493-Miscellaneous Materials and Biographical Sketch of Dr. Heath [Mrs. Lillian Nelson], n.d., 32. She had saved a list of her favorites things—color, flower, tree, perfume, poets, artists—included were references to canaries and coyotes.

Larry K. Brown is a Cheyenne author and historian. His most recent book, *The Hog Ranches of Wyoming*, was published earlier this year by High Plains Press.

(Continued from inside front cover)

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